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RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE



Lady Dorchester
(The Editor)

from a portrait by R. Buckner R.. A.

RECOLLECTIONS OF
A LONG LIFE

BY LORD BROUGHTON
(JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE)

WITH ADDITIONAL EXTRACTS
FROM HIS PRIVATE DIARIES

EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER
LADY DORCHESTER



WITH PORTRAITS. IN SIX VOLUMES

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RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE

CHAPTER I

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

August 15.—I dined with Charles Grant,¹ 1834.
President of the Board of Control, at a sort of
farewell dinner given to his brother Robert, on
going to Bombay. I sat between Spring Rice
and Littleton, by both of whom I was much
entertained. Littleton told me that Graham's
famous motion for returns of Privy Councillors
holding office was suggested by Lord Wellesley,
who, in the first instance, proposed that the motion
should be confined to places held by Cabinet

¹ Charles (1778-1866) and Robert (1779-1838) Grant were the sons of Charles Grant, who after a distinguished career in the Service of the E.I.C. became chairman of the Court of Directors and took a prominent place in politics. His son Charles, after taking high honours at Cambridge, entered Parliament in 1811, and became successively Irish Secretary, President of the Board of Trade, President of the Board of Control, and Colonial Secretary. In 1836 he was created Lord Glenelg. Robert also distinguished himself at Cambridge, and entered Parliament in 1818; he was Judge-Advocate-General and subsequently Governor of Bombay (1834-8). He was knighted in 1834.

1834. Ministers. The question was, who should move it. Hume was mentioned, and Littleton spoke to him about it. It was thought better to include all Privy Councillors holding office in the motion, and Hume went upstairs to write out the words of the motion. In the meantime comes in Sir James Graham, and Littleton and Huskisson thought he would be a better man than Hume to make the motion. They gave him the hint, and he gave notice immediately.

Nothing contributed to give a tone to the country at the ensuing elections more than that motion, and Graham's speech.

Littleton is a cleverer man than I thought him to be.¹ He talked to me with indifference of his O'Connell exploit, and said too much was made of it. He does not apprehend mischief in Ireland.

My other neighbour, Spring Rice, told me of William Pitt's alarm at the mutiny at the Nore. When he heard of it he exclaimed, "Venit summa dies," etc. The man to whom he said it told Rice the anecdote.

¹ Edward John Littleton (1791-1863) was appointed Irish Secretary in 1833. In this capacity he sent for O'Connell and informed him in strict confidence that, in the Irish Bill about to be introduced, the powers to prevent public meetings would not be renewed. After he had given this assurance the Cabinet determined to renew their clauses. When this became known in the House of Commons, O'Connell attacked Littleton furiously for breach of faith, and Littleton retorted on O'Connell his breach of confidence. In the end Littleton resigned his office. He was created Lord Hatherton in 1835.

FROM DIARY.

1834.

August 18.—My little girls, Julia and Chattie, dined with us. Pretty things, so young! almost babies!

August 20.—Left Basildon for Scotland, with my wife and her eldest little girl, Julia. We slept at Leicester, and then went by Matlock to Burton and Edgemoor. We stayed a day with my brother-in-law, Trevor Spencer, and then went by Derby to Manchester. Thence, in an hour and a half, we went by rail to Liverpool. It was my first experience of a railroad, and it would be in vain to attempt to describe my sensations. The effect was overpowering. My little child, as we sat quietly in our carriage, was not the least alarmed, nor seemed sensible of the prodigious speed of our movement. Indeed, it was only when a train met us, and we passed each other at the rate of 40 miles an hour, that I was aware of our wonderful velocity. On the whole, I think I was more affected by this display of human power than by any other work of art, the Simplon Road or Menai Bridge not excepted. There was something awful, bordering on the terrific, in our moving through the last tunnel, but all portions of the work seemed performed with such perfect accuracy as to diminish much the sense of danger.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

We had an opportunity of comparing the slow

1834. progress of the old mode of travelling with railroad speed; for we could not get farther from Kendal than Lockerby, 75 miles, and no more. Nor did we travel faster, the next day, over the wild Dumfriesshire hills and glens, by Douglas Mill and Hamilton to Glasgow. I found that great town much more increased in size, since 1823, than Liverpool. It seemed the superb capital of West Scotland. Mr. Ewing, M.P. for it, sent his card and a note to say he would wait on us next morning, with Dr. Cleland, the historian and cicerone of Glasgow. They were good enough to accompany us the next day to some of the wonders of the place, and Dr. Cleland presented me with a handsomely bound folio, containing his account of Glasgow.

FROM DIARY.

August 27.—I saw Mr. Monteith's Manufactory for printing cottons, etc. Since the great strike of the operatives, females have been employed, and they appeared to me to be fully capable of the work. They were guarded for some time by soldiers. The young women had a healthy, happy look, decently dressed, but without shoes and stockings. They will work in a temperature of 15° in winter and walk into the snow with impunity. They had flannels given to them, but preferred their own light dress. The discharging process is most beautiful. We saw a contrast of French and Scottish patterns. The former more

minute and pretty, the latter more bold and striking. One for retail, the other wholesale. 1834.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

We went to the fine Exchange Rooms, where we met Lord Harrowby. He asked me whether the Lord Chancellor was going to Dunrobin; for, if he was, he (Lord H.) should alter his plans, as he preferred accommodation for himself and family, to the company even of a Lord Chancellor.

A great crowd accompanied us to our carriage, and there was no hissing, or other symptom of dissatisfaction, to which I had been so long accustomed in England that I was not a little surprised to find a member of the Government so well received; and the magistrates of the city paid me a complimentary visit, as they called it; at any rate they were very civil. After dining with Mr. Ewing, we went to Cumbernauld, the seat of Admiral Fleming.

From Cumbernauld we went by Stirling and Crieff to Taymouth Castle—a happy meeting it was for us in those days—and I liked the noble residence far more than I had done eleven years before. Lord Chancellor Brougham arrived the next day, and was received with salutes of cannon from the fort on the hill, and pipers on the lawn. He was in high force and very amusing. We had a large party: Lord Tankerville and his son, Lord and Lady Fitzharris, Lord Camperdown and Lord Duncan, Sir George Warrender, and the young

1834. Duc de Richelieu,¹ a French Conservative, a rare character at that time. He was no admirer of any revolutionary personage, and he had a long argument with Lord Brougham on the conversational powers of Talleyrand, which he rated lower than they are usually allowed to be. Brougham ranked him in the very first class of talkers. The controversy was kept up with great spirit on both sides.

The Duc de Richelieu's sagacity may not have been much at fault when, in a long talk with me, he insisted that the Duc d'Orleans, the son of Louis Philippe, would never be on the throne of France. Who would be, he could not guess. Brougham and I had very little private talk, except about the *Times*. He seemed resolved on war to the knife with Barnes, the editor, and said that Goldsmid had offered £30,000 to set up a rival newspaper. Lord Brougham had a habit of sighing deeply, apparently without knowing it, which every one remarked. He was accompanied by his wife's daughter, Miss Spalding, who seemed half worn out by hard travelling.

Brougham left the Castle on the 1st of September; before going away, he gave me an inscription which he had made for the statue of Watt. He

¹ The Duc de Richelieu (1766-1821), a collateral descendant of the Cardinal, was a devoted adherent of the Bourbons, and during the Napoleonic regime he entered the service of Russia. He returned with Louis XVIII., who on his death in 1821, in recognition of his distinguished services to France, revived his title in favour of his nephew Armand François Odet-Chapelle de Jumilhac, Duc de Richelieu (born 1804), who is mentioned above.

told me that he had been two years employed upon it, and did not like it at last.¹ 1834.

After the Lord Chancellor had left us, I joined a party to go to Aberfeldy and see the Moness Falls, a beautiful mountain cataract; and I assisted in carrying Lady Fitzharris (Tankerville) to the waterfall—a pleasing burthen.

On September 3 Lord Breadalbane, Lord Ossulston, and myself set out early for the Deer-forest, a distance of forty-five miles, through the wildest Highland scenery. The lodge was on the bank of Loch Tulla, a mere hut in those days, and it was not easy to imagine anything more desolate and lonely than the shooting quarters of this great chieftain. Except in the cottage itself, there was no sign of life; but we were comfortably boarded and lodged, and the morning after our arrival we took to the hills. I had seen a good deal of mountain life in Switzerland, but that did not prepare me for deer-stalking, and I confess I did not much like sitting in a swamp, under a cold rock, when bathed in perspiration from toiling up the mountain-side. We saw some harts at a distance, and slid down a water-course to get nearer to them. At last we stopped; and as they would not approach nearer to us, we both rose and fired at a hart who was the nearest to us. The herd threw up their heads, stared for a moment at us, and then bounded away; a

¹ The statue, by Chantrey, is in Wandsworth Church, and the long inscription will be found in Smiles's "Life of Watt."

1834. hart appeared to be hit, and shortly afterwards a hunter cried out, "There he lies dead!" And down all the foresters ran, skipping from rock to rock at a pace which frightened me. I came down, and found the hart quite dead. Lord Breadalbane good-humouredly gave the shot to me, and I did not dispute his award, and walked down the mountain to Loch Tulla, not a little pleased with the doubtful exploit.

On this occasion I made two other attempts at deer-stalking, but without success; but I landed a salmon on a fishing excursion with Lord Ossulston, and then, returning to the cottage, breakfasted and went to the hills, where I fired at a hart, and was told that I had shot him; but as Lord Ossulston had fired at the same time, I had little doubt to whom the glory, such as it was, belonged. The party left the Black Mount and returned to Taymouth Castle, where I found my official bags and many letters, which kept me employed for a day or two.

FROM DIARY.

September 7.—I had many long conversations with Lord Ossulston on politics. He is a very agreeable, intelligent young man, twenty-four years of age, a sort of Liberal-Conservative. An accomplished sportsman, sings very prettily, M.P. for Northumberland.¹ When at Paris his De

¹ His father, the 5th Earl of Tankerville, was married to Armande Sophie Leonie Corisandra, Duchesse de Gramont.

Gramont's relations would not permit him to go to Louis Philippe's Court, which he lamented. 1834.

September 12.—I went out shooting on the moors with young Mr. Baillie, Lady Breadalbane's brother,¹ and after dinner saw the charming lady herself, perhaps for the last time. She is a most interesting creature, and bears her misfortunes—want of health and the want of an heir to her husband's vast possessions—like an angel.

Riding to Moness Falls, Lord Breadalbane pointed out to me a small laird's house, and said, "There lives my heir and successor." He is, however, much annoyed at the will left by his father, depriving him of every shilling of which the late lord could dispose. He told me he had not the least reason to suppose his father intended such a deed. He believed the old gentleman was induced to it by the love of accumulation of what £300,000 untouched for twenty years would amount to, as he found a calculation of what £300,000 would be, with notes of admiration affixed to it, all in his father's handwriting. His rent-roll is £30,000 a year, and after twenty years he will have the income of the accumulated sum, but in the meantime he has no ready money for improvements. He is a shy but a determined man.

¹ John, 2nd Marquess and 5th Earl of Breadalbane, had succeeded his father this year. He married Eliza, daughter of George Baillie, of Jerviswood, and died in 1862, when the marquessate became extinct and the earldom passed to his cousin, John Alexander Gavin Campbell, of Glenfalloch, Perthshire.

1834. Before leaving Taymouth I took a good deal of pains to persuade Lord Breadalbane to attend the dinner to be given at Edinburgh to Lord Grey. He said that he thought he had done his duty in promoting reform of Parliament, and might fairly retire. "What!" said I, "at thirty-eight years of age?" Lady Breadalbane agreed with me, and he made up his mind to go to Edinburgh the next day.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On September 13 I left Taymouth Castle. The piper, who had taken a fancy to my pretty little girl, played a farewell as she was lifted into our carriage. We changed horses at Amulree, Crieff, Stirling, Falkirk, and Linlithgow, and arrived at Craigie Hall, the seat of Mr. Hope Vere, in good time the same afternoon.

The next day I walked over to Dalmeny Park, the seat of Lord Rosebery, on the banks of the Firth of Forth, and the day after that I beheld the triumphal entry—for it was a triumph—for Lord Grey into Edinburgh. On the whole, it was the finest sight I ever witnessed. Lord Durham and the Duc de Richelieu, both of them somewhat fastidious judges, confessed it was magnificent. Lord Grey, with his star and ribbon and his bald head, stood manfully erect in the midst of countless multitudes, moving slowly over the North Bridge, preceded and followed by the city trades with their Reform banners. The whole

ceremony was well described in the journals of 1834.
the day. What struck me most was the good order and the peaceable demeanour of the people. Lady Grey and Lady Durham, and Ladies Georgina Grey and Mary Wood, and two brothers, saw their father's triumph. I watched them and witnessed their delight. To him it was worth a life of toil.

I went in the afternoon to the dinner given to Lord Grey, in a pavilion which had been erected, in ten days, for the occasion. It was a superb structure. Fifteen hundred and sixty sat down to a cold dinner, and after dinner others came; so that, with the ladies in the gallery, the number present amounted to two thousand six hundred. The utmost order prevailed, and when Lady Grey came into the gallery the company all rose and received her with cheers. I saw the tears come into Lord Grey's eyes. I was sitting within four of him, and watched him. The Duke of Hamilton was to have presided; but he was labouring under a complaint in his eyes, and Lord Rosebery took the chair for him, and filled it well. Lord Grey was on his right hand, Lord Chancellor Brougham on his left; Ellice, Abercromby, and Cutlar Ferguson. When Lord Grey's health was given, the cheers were overpowering. He made an admirable speech. "Lord Brougham and H.M.'s Ministers" was the next toast. It was very well received, and there was much cheering, and cries of "No *Times*." Brougham made a bad speech; talked of his hands being clean, and was

1834. waggish about the “nothings” accomplished by the Reformed Parliament. He uttered two or three civilities about Lord Grey, which were neither very cordial nor cordially received by the object of them. He sat down amidst thunders of applause and waving of handkerchiefs.

Lord Durham's health was given, and very well received indeed. He made a patriotic speech, and lectured the Government about unreformed abuses, which told well; but I, knowing something more of the facts than he chose to tell, could scarcely refrain from smiling. Abercromby, Sir John Campbell, and Lord-Advocate Murray, made tiresome speeches. The health of friend Ellice was proposed, and well received. I saw that my name was down for a toast, and spoke to Lord Rosebery, requesting that no notice might be taken of me; but Brougham wrote a note, telling me the guests were resolved to hear me, and Sir James Gibson Craig said the people of Edinburgh had a claim upon me. I thought I had escaped, but Bannerman, M.P., proposed my health, which was as well received as any; and the speech I made in reply was thought so much to the purpose that there was great shouting and cheering, and partial Lord Breadalbane told me it was the best speech of the evening. Sir John Dalrymple, M.P. for Edinburgh, wrote me a note, saying that my speech would have secured my election for the city. Alluding to Lord Durham's advice to Ministers, I assured him that “I took

it in good part." Those present understood me well enough, but the London journals took occasion to say that I agreed with Lord Durham as to the necessity for further reforms, which I, most certainly, did not; although Lord Durham himself was not at all displeased, and told me I had made a capital speech. I mention these things because Edinburgh had some claims upon me, and I was pleased at thinking that I had not disappointed the expectations of my Scottish friends. 1834.

FROM DIARY.

September 17.—Went with Mr. R. Mackenzie, and Mr. Burn, Crown Architect to Holyrood House, to look at best mode of improving that royal palace, and to restore it and the park to the Crown in spite of the Duke of Hamilton, and Lord Haddington, who have shamefully encroached on both. The desecration of the Royal Chapel is truly disgraceful. I resolved to do what I could, but possibly I shall find the noble lords too hard for me.

September 18.—We left Edinburgh and went to Oxenford Castle, the seat of Sir John Dalrymple: a beautiful place with a most attractive host and hostess.

September 19.—I walked with Sir F. Dick Lauder, to see the new road and archway over the valley, a truly Roman work, by Telford, completed in 1831. During this visit Sir John Dalrymple showed us a letter, written by a rela-

1834. tion of his, on Scott's "Bride of Lammermuir." The story is true of a young lady of the Stair family. She was called the Bride of Baldoon. The bridegroom was wounded, not by his wife, but by a rival suitor—a Lord Rutherford. The scene of the story was in the West country, and not in the East. The writer of the letter was indignant at the liberty taken with facts by the great novelist, and thought the honour of the Dalrymple family compromised by the romance. I thought that the said family had very little right to complain, for, if Lucy was crazy, it signified little whether she, or some one else, stabbed Baldoon.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

From Oxenford we went to Yester, and stayed there until September 25. Whilst on this visit I enjoyed myself much. I wandered about, with my wife as a guide, to the scenes of her childhood, where she pointed out to me the trees she had planted, and took me to the ruined chapel close to the mansion, the burial-place of her family. She showed me the grave of the last Hay buried there; a shudder came over me, and I hurried her away. Lord Tweeddale mounted me on a pony, and rode with me to the top of Lammer Law. At one of the woods in this wild country I met a Melton acquaintance, Lord Elcho, and had a gallop with his foxhounds. I have not the heart to record more of this visit—times are so changed, and we are so changed with them.

1834.

From Yester we went to Whittingehame, the seat of Mr. Balfour, M.P. for the county; and here I saw what wealth can do. All was his own creation—house, gardens, and park-like grounds—which, I was told, were a turnip-field twenty years ago. I walked about his beautiful gardens, and down the valley of the Whittingehame Water, a lovely dell, the pride of the place. Mr. Balfour lent me a horse, and I had another gallop with Lord Elcho. The sport was very poor, but the country very beautiful; deep woody ravines and wild moors, with noble prospects of land and sea. These exercises did not prevent me from attending to the business of my office, and on most days I despatched office-boxes and wrote many letters. At that time the members of the Cabinet had circulars sent to them containing extracts from Foreign Office and Irish despatches—a very convenient holiday practice, which has since been discontinued. My circulars then contained no news of importance, except the expected death of Don Pedro and the succession of Donna Maria.

From Whittingehame we went a short distance to Biel, the residence of Mrs. Hamilton Nesbit Ferguson. I was much struck with this place—its handsome mansion, and Italian terraces, overspread with the plants of an Italian sun. I had seen nothing like it in Great Britain. It was one of the estates of the great Nesbit property, and belonged formerly to the Belhaven family. There is a good portrait of the famous Lord Belhaven

1834 here. Old Mr. Nesbit, father of Mrs. Ferguson, found a stone here with this inscription upon it: "1707, THE YEAR IN WHICH SCOTLAND WAS BETRAYED AND RUINED." Sir George Warrender proposed, as a comment on this text, "The Nesbit rent-roll now £33,000 per annum, five times greater than it was in 1707." Warrender mentioned this to me himself, at Lochend, to which he removed on September 30, and enjoyed a most agreeable visit of three days, in company with Lord Gillies¹ and Lord Chief Justice Doherty,² two of the most agreeable men of their time, I should say. Doherty looked as young as ever, and, after the ladies were gone, he and the Lord of Session kept us in a roar of laughter, with very little pause.

Warrender was very kind and hospitable, and had a great deal to say, particularly about the men with whom he had lived, Canning being the chief; but he verged on the absurd and talked too much of himself, and how he was employed and treated by Canning. He said he was sent by Canning to Copley to complain of his Phillpott's

¹ Adam Lord Gillies was a Scottish Judge of Session (b. 1760—d. 1842).

² John Doherty (1783-1850) was made Lord Chief Justice of Ireland 1830. In 1825 O'Connell describes him in a letter to his wife as "that long blockhead Dogherty," but Curran, in his sketches, writes of him as "six feet two inches, and every inch a very estimable person." In 1829, while he was still a Member of Parliament, his action in the case of the Doneraile Conspirators caused an open breach between him and O'Connell. O'Connell attacked him in the House of Commons, and Doherty replied in a masterpiece of polite venom

speech, and added that it was at that very time arranged that Copley should be Lord Chancellor if Canning became Premier. Can this be so? 1834.

I had afterwards a good deal of talk with Lord Gillies on Scottish politics, and found that he did not at all agree with Moncrieff and the Church party. Doherty spoke to me of O'Connell with more of awful respect than I ever heard from any other man; and he mentioned that he once overheard two old women, who had been in court during one of his great speeches, which had procured the acquittal of a manifestly guilty man—one of them said to the other, "It is no use talking; he is just a God Almighty upon earth." "And this," said Doherty, "I believe to be the public feeling." We had a jovial time of it with the Judges—pheasant-shooting in the morning, and sitting rather too late, particularly Lord Gillies and myself, after dinner.

From Lochend we went to Manderston, the residence of our friend General Maitland, from whom, and his excellent old wife, we had a most friendly reception. At Manderston there was a portrait of Pope, by Richardson. The painter, having some quarrel with the poet, gave the picture to Mr. I. Calverly, of whom he had made a portrait at near a hundred years of age. This gentleman was great-grandfather of Mrs. Maitland.

From Manderston we travelled over the hills, twenty miles, to Thirlstane Castle, in Lauderdale

1834. —a strange old building, like a French château, built by Duke Lauderdale. The old Earl, and his good lady and her two boys, as she called them (fifty years old I believed them to be), gave us a most hearty reception. I enjoyed Lord Lauderdale's conversation much. He was then past seventy-six years of age, a little broken in body, but his mind as active as ever. He talked very freely of some of the past generation. He gave me a strange account of Lord Lansdowne, the first Marquess, and mentioned that, when the Bank stopped payment, Fox, and Grey, and himself, went to speak with Lord L—— on the subject, and all they could get from him was, "There is nothing for it but publicity and perspicuity." Now I confess I did not see the folly of this speech. On the contrary, I thought it a very sensible exposition of the real state of the case; and, if my host had lived a little longer, he would have seen that those who directed the monetary affairs of the great nations agreed with the doctrine so decried.

I cannot omit what Lord Lauderdale told me of Brougham. This extraordinary man, in very early life, came to Thirlstane with a letter from Lord Buchan requesting a day's shooting for his young friend. Lord Lauderdale said in reply, that he was going to Edinburgh; but that Brougham was welcome to shoot. Brougham answered that Lord Buchan had mistaken his request. What he wanted was permission to drive

1834.

Lord Maitland in a pony phaeton round the Scottish Western Circuit. Lord Lauderdale thought Brougham mad, and declined to trust his son, a boy thirteen years old, with him. Accordingly Brougham started from Thirlstane in his phaeton alone. At Ayr he behaved so strangely that no one knew what to make of him. At Dumfries he got extremely intoxicated, sat up all night, and was carried to the race-course next morning in a sedan-chair, dressed in his wig and gown. No wonder that, when he returned to Edinburgh, his friends shut him up for six weeks. This extravagance was so notorious a fact that Cockburn, Solicitor-General, pleading the other day in a question of sanity, said that it did not follow a man was mad because he did odd things. A great man, in high office, had gone to a race-course in a sedan-chair; but he was not mad. Now I thought Cockburn almost as mad as Brougham, for alluding to such an instance.

Lord Lauderdale said Brougham began public life under the auspices of William Pitt, who sent him on a mission into Germany and the north of Italy. In one article of the *Edinburgh Review* he attacked Lord Lauderdale's financial opinions, and, in another article, he praised Lord Chatham's letters to Lord Camelford. He bound up the two articles together, and sent twelve copies of them to Lord Mulgrave. Lord Lauderdale found them all at the Foreign Office, when Lord Grey suc-

1834. ceded to Fox there. He burnt eleven of them, and kept one copy, which he has got now.

From this sample of imperfection, Lord Lauderdale turned to Charles Fox, of whom he said that he was not only the most extraordinary man he had ever seen, but also the best man. He had, at the same time, a way of talking which ought not to be taken too literally; for example, Lauderdale heard him once say to Lord Holland, "Now, my young fellow, I will give you a piece of advice: never do anything yourself, which you can get another man to do for you." "A maxim," said Lauderdale, "on which Fox acted himself." Lauderdale worked very hard for him, and never, except on one occasion, was obliged to explain a subject twice to him.

CHAPTER II.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1834.

October 12.—We took leave of Lord Lauderdale and his agreeable family, and returned to London.

On *October 15*, I had an audience of His Majesty, and we had some general talk. The good King was very kind; he promised me a prescription for the gout, which had been serviceable to George III.

October 16.—This was to me a memorable day; for, as I was sitting quietly at home with Lady Julia, I was roused by the intelligence that the House of Lords was on fire. As the care of the public buildings belonged to my department, I lost no time in going to St. James's Palace. The whole building in front of Old Palace-yard was in flames, and the fire was gaining ground towards Bennett's Tower every instant; only a few soldiers and policemen were present, and three or four engines. A short time after more fire-engines came, but I thought the firemen were lamentably deficient in the knowledge of the best way to extinguish the flames.

I was with Melbourne, who was as usual very cool, and now and then inclined to be jocose. He

1834. could not help laughing when a man ran up to me and said, "Sir John, we have saved King Charles's warrant"—meaning the original death-warrant, as if that document was particularly interesting to me.

The crowd behaved very well; only one man was taken up for huzzaing when the flames increased. I heard nothing of the exclamations recorded by the *Standard* newspaper, but I believe that one weaver did say, "This comes of making the poor girls pay for their children"—alluding to the new Poor Law. A few persons attributed the fire to design, but, on the whole, it was impossible for any large assemblage of people to behave better.

FROM DIARY,

October 17.—I dined at Holland House. Lord Melbourne and Whishaw the only strangers. We had a long talk on patronage, and Lord Melbourne said he thought the Whigs greater jobbers than Tories, and more grasping. He contradicted Lord Holland and my lady in the most amusing manner.

Lady Holland told me she would give a proof of her love of me by asking a favour of me, viz. a place for Henry Webster.

October 18.—Went to St. James's and saw H.M. I cannot say he was much affected by the calamity, rather the reverse. He seemed delighted at having an opportunity of getting rid of Bucking-

ham Palace ; said he meant it as a permanent gift for Parliament Houses, and that it would be the finest thing in Europe. 1834.

At 3 o'clock the King and Queen came in two plain carriages and went over the ruins of the two Houses. A crowd of people pressed in and went round with them. I think their Majesties went rather too near to the shaking walls, but they were quite fearless.

The King looked gratified as if at a show, and perhaps by the prospect of getting rid of Buckingham Palace. Just before getting into his carriage he called the Speaker and me to him and said, "Mind, I mean Buckingham Palace as a permanent gift! mind that!"

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On Saturday, October 25, I visited our Colonial Secretary, Mr. Spring Rice (since Lord Montague), at his villa. I saw some books in the library which had belonged to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. In some of the books were notes in the handwriting of "the charming Mary Montagu." In Fielding's "Amelia" was this note: "Inferior to himself, superior to most others."

November 11.—Note from Ellice that Lord Spencer died yesterday.

November 14.—Dined at Holland House. The Chancellor, Mulgrave, Abercromby, and his wife, Master of the Rolls. The talk of Pope and Johnson ; Brougham was unjust to both.

1834. Lord Holland told me some profligate sayings of George Selwyn's, whom he knew when a boy, a formal man in a bag-wig and sword; he hated the Whigs, but liked Charles Fox. He had a house at Marston, where Charles I. had escaped. George III. came to visit it; and Selwyn, although a most abject flatterer of that King, said, "It is curious my house has been visited by two kings, and both lost their heads." George III. had recently been mad. Some one, who overheard him, laughed, and Selwyn exclaimed, "A-hem! I'm glad you like it—I'm glad you like it"—his usual phrase.

November 15.—The news came this morning that the King had taken advantage of Lord Spencer's death to dissolve the Government.

At a Cabinet meeting Lord Melbourne told us all that had occurred. The King was firm in his belief that Lord Althorp's elevation to the House of Lords could not be repaired, and, therefore, the Administration could not carry on the affairs of the country. Under these circumstances, the King wrote, it would not be fair to ask Lord Melbourne and his colleagues to continue in office.

Thus ended the last Cabinet meeting of the second Reform Administration—dismissed without a complaint, and, almost, without a pretext—at the risk of great public calamity; but, perhaps, fortunately for themselves, before those who expected too much from them saw cause for disappointment. For my own part, I was happy

to have belonged to them. They appeared to me, at least the majority of them, honourable and good men, really anxious for the welfare of their country, and determined to obtain it by wise and bold measures. My knowledge of Lord Melbourne has made me think better of politicians. I think him one of the most straightforward, sagacious, disinterested men I ever knew. His whole conduct in this closing scene has been beyond all praise. Abercromby, who has also gained much upon me, confessed to me that he had never hoped to see such a Minister. 1834.

Justice will be done to us. We agreed to wait quietly until we were superseded; and to tell the truth, viz. that we were dismissed, and did not resign, assigning as a cause what the King had declared to be so—viz. the removal of Lord Althorp from the House of Commons.

November 17.—J. Russell showed me a letter from Lord Althorp, who called the dismissal “inconceivable folly,” but a great relief to him; meaning, I suppose, that he should not be pestered with applications to join the Government. The Duke of Wellington is all three Secretaries of State. Government in abeyance, waiting for Peel.

November 21.—Brougham took leave of the Court of Chancery to-day in a short and well-timed speech, but no man said, “God bless him.”

November 24.—The *Times* and Tory papers are trying to make it appear that there has been so much shuffling amongst the late Cabinet Ministers

1834. that the dissolution was only hastened by the King. A postscript to the *Quarterly Review*¹ states circumstantially several lies to that effect, and the *Times* quotes it and calls it a statement from authority. I have no doubt it is from the Duke of Wellington, who is in possession of the minutes of the conversations between the King and Melbourne, and also of Melbourne's letter to the King. He has shown them to several friends not so scrupulous as himself, and to these persons must be attributed the deviations from fact. The pretext for the dismissal was certainly the Irish Tithe Bill, for, after hearing Lord Melbourne's explanation of that measure, the King said, "As a Protestant King, I can never consent to that"; and to this may be added, that His Majesty at that time had taken a very great dislike to his Lord Chancellor.

November 26.—I drew up an answer to the *Quarterly Review* contradicting their assertions respecting the differences in the Cabinet, and it was published in the *Morning Chronicle* next day.

¹ The "postscript" in question was attached to an article on the Personal History of Louis Philippe, written by Mr. Croker, and in the course of it it is stated "that the Cabinet has been dissolved by its own internal and irreconcilable dissensions; and Lord Spencer's death has only effected in November, that which the most sanguine of the Cabinet hoped to have postponed to January. In all this there was not—and could not be—any concert, much less any intrigue, between the King and the Conservative party; and we believe we may assert that the retiring Ministers confess that his Majesty was not acting under any other influence, or with any other views, than those which were naturally and obviously suggested by his communications with Lord Melbourne himself."

November 29.—Lord Melbourne has been making a speech at Melbourne saying that he has not been “personally aggrieved.” This renders it the more necessary to contradict the article in the *Times*.

Lord Durham arrived. He is sulky and important, and says the turn-out is come at a lucky time, when the public have a man to look up to—viz. himself!

December 1.—A letter from Burdett states shortly that he is about to address the electors “disapproving of all the proceedings now going on.” He is a strange man, certainly failing in his intellects, yet he is one of the best, if not the very best, politician I ever knew. The electors would certainly choose me upon his retirement, but I do not like to afford even the appearance of displacing him, so I forgo that which would otherwise be a great triumph for me, and I think useful to the good cause.

December 5.—Lord Durham told me to-day that he thought worse of human nature every day. The natural consequences of disappointed vanity!

Lord Melbourne has been speaking out decidedly at Derby, and has contradicted the monstrous fables invented to damage the late Government as to the cause of their dismissal. The consequence is that the Conservative Journals begin to find that Lord Melbourne is not the very superior, superfine gentleman which they have hitherto represented him to be.

1834. *December 9.*—Peel arrived at last, and he has accepted the Premiership.

I saw the Hollands. They talk as if this were a mere party struggle: a question of Whig or Tory ascendancy.

December 23.—Dined at Lord Holland's. Lady Holland in the evening made a great complaint of her poverty, and said to me that the Duchy just kept them afloat. Now that was gone, she remarked she had only two *entrées*!

December 26.—I dined with William Linley, who told me an anecdote of Sheridan.

Sheridan was going in a stage-coach to Stafford. A fellow passenger said he was proceeding to that place in order to assist in opposing Sheridan, the greatest scoundrel in the world, etc. Sheridan took no notice at the time, but happening to see a parcel which informed him of the name and profession of the other, he began to talk of lawyers, and said that solicitors were excellent people in general but some were bad, and he knew one Williams, the greatest rascal unhanged. On which the passenger burst into a fury, and said, "Zounds, sir, do you mean to insult me? I am that Williams." "Well, sir," said Sheridan, "and do you mean to insult me? I am that Sheridan." The attorney was sensible enough to see the rebuke, and to take it as he ought, and the two were friends the rest of the way.

December 30.—This day Parliament was dissolved; now comes the struggle!

January 5, 1835.—I was re-elected for Nottingham without opposition. 1835.

Whilst at Nottingham I went over to Newstead, and saw the alterations made by Colonel Wildman in the Abbey and gardens. I slept in a room which had no roof to it in my day; but that was twenty-six years ago. Wandering about the garden, I looked for the clump of trees on Annesley Hill, "the peculiar diadem" of Byron's "Dream." It was not to be seen, and I heard that Mr. Chaworth had cut it down—Colonel Wildman said, for spite.

The Colonel told me a story of a poor deaf and dumb crazy woman, who used to frequent the Abbey garden, and sit there for hours, with a volume of Byron in her hand. She lived in one of the farmhouses on the property and paid her little rent punctually. She had no intercourse with the Colonel, nor any of his family, until one day, when she put a letter into his hand containing an account of the failure of some relation, on whom she depended for subsistence. Wildman was preparing to make some inquiries about her when he learnt that she had abruptly left the farmhouse, with her little bundle in her hand and dressed in her usual white gown. The next news he heard of her was, that she had been run over by a cart in the streets of Nottingham, and killed on the spot. She had frequented the Abbey garden for some years. A sad story, and true.

1835. FROM DIARY.

January 17.—The papers have been publishing my Nottingham speech and commenting on it. The *Standard* reviles me as an atheist and an assassin and what not. I am proud of making the rascals so angry!

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

January 23.—Lord Melbourne invited P. Thompson and myself to come to him at Bocket Hall. We went there, and had some excellent pheasant-shooting in the morning, and some useful discussion on our position after dinner. I found Lord Melbourne, in his own house, just such a person as I expected—most satisfactory in every respect.

January 26.—Left Bocket and went to Woburn Abbey. It was one-and-twenty years since I visited this princely mansion. Coming into the drawing-room, I saw it crowded with young men in red coats. I was introduced to the Duchess, a formal lady, I thought, considering all things. Lord Melbourne came, also Lord Auckland; Chantrey; the Tavistocks, young Lord Charles, M.P. for the county, with his lovely wife. The good Duke himself was most kind and hospitable, friendly and attentive to all.

January 28.—We looked over the farm establishment—most splendid. We were joined by the Duchess, and Landseer, the great artist, whom I have known intimately for almost half a century,

and whose works, as well as himself, I admire more every time I see them and him. 1835.

FROM DIARY.

February 1.—The elections all over. The Tories have returned about 275, but they have not kept out *those* Cabinet Ministers. Palmerston is the only member of the late Government whom they have excluded.

February 3.—I called to see Lord Wellesley at his request. He talked to me of the Duke of Wellington, without any reserve, as a great officer but no statesman at all, and he instanced the mode in which he defended Catholic Emancipation. His confession that it was the fear of civil war which induced him to grant that boon was a premium upon future agitation. Whatever he thought, he ought not to have put forward such a cause.

The Marquess told me a saying of his own: that he trusted his brother Arthur would plant his foot on the necks of those who were fools enough to help him to power, and then they would find his heel as hard as his heart!

I was much pleased with the vigour and liveliness of the old man!

February 11.—Dining at Burlington Street this evening I saw a funny thing: as Lady Holland went out after dinner, Lord Granville pulled some papers out of his pocket and gave them to her. She kissed him.

February 19.—I went down to Westminster, and

1835. was much pleased with what I had some right to call my new temporary House of Commons.

February 20.—Abercromby, who has been chosen Speaker in place of Sutton, appeared to-day in a court-dress and a tie-wig, and read the usual speech in a firm voice. When taking the oaths he lifted up his hands and eyes to me as if imploring pity for his condition.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

February 24.—The King went down to open Parliament in person. The crowd was so great that I did not get into the House until after the King had gone.

I had at this time an opportunity of forming some judgment of the grandees of our party, for on Saturday, March 8, I dined at the Duchess of Kent's, and met the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Cleveland, Lord and Lady Lansdowne, the Speaker and Mrs. Abercromby, Lord and Lady Rosebery, Lord Melbourne, Lord and Lady Ilchester, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Fox Maule. The young Princess was in high spirits, and looked very well. The Duchess herself was, as usual, most pleasing.

I have a record of the discreditable defeats, and successes as damaging as defeats, which Peel and his Cabinet sustained during this ill-omened portion of his career. Night after night it became apparent that his Ministerial days were numbered. The language used on both sides of the House

became so intolerable that the Speaker was 1835.
obliged to interpose his authority.

I have been visited during my long life with only two great calamities. The first afflicted me at this time. I had hoped against hope that my wife might be saved; but all the bad symptoms of her insidious malady recurred with so much violence, as to leave no room for even a faint hope of her recovery. I resolved, however, to go about the usual business of life, so far as it was compatible with that anxiety which left me but little power of reflection on any but my domestic dangers!

FROM DIARY.

April 3.—My most admirable and devoted wife, the pride and treasure of my heart, died at four o'clock. The scene will never be effaced from my memory. I am so stupefied by the blow that I seem to have no feeling. I pray God to preserve my senses. I have given orders to have her laid next to my father; and there will I be laid also. It relieves me to talk of my loss, but I cannot shed tears. God forgive me, and permit me to see her hereafter.

April 9.—I passed all these days of misery at home, my brother Edward and Lord Thomas Hay being with me, endeavouring to divert me by talking of the events of the day.

This day I sent my little children to Tunbridge Wells, and prepared to follow them the next day.

1835. *April 15.*—Repeated letters from P. Thompson and Ellice recalled me this day to Berkeley Square. There I found a desolation in my once happy home, such as made me, if possible, more wretched than in the first hour of my calamity.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

April 17.—Peel resigned on Wednesday, April 8, and on Saturday the King asked Lord Melbourne to form a Government.

I accepted the office of the Board of Control, at the same time telling Lord Melbourne that his Cabinet was not so Liberal as I thought. He replied that some people had told him it was too Jacobinical.

The next day we were summoned to attend a Court at St. James's. We found the ex-Ministers waiting in the Throne-room, and spoke to several of them. Hardinge remarked that the two pleasantest days in the life of a politician were that on which he accepted, and that on which he left, office.

The King saluted us coldly as we entered the Council-chamber; and, after the usual ceremonies, we retired. Thus was formed the second Melbourne Cabinet, and H.M. was obliged to swallow the bitter pill of his own compounding.

Surely some one ought to have been responsible for all that had happened, and all that might have happened, since the 15th of the last November—an Administration broken up, a Parliament dissolved, a new Parliament elected, with all the usual

1835.

chances of disturbance ; the new Government in a minority the first day of the session, and unable to appoint their own Speaker, or address the Sovereign in the terms chosen by themselves ; in fact, the Monarch and the Ministry exposed and degraded ; yet no one reproved, no one punished, not a single step taken to prevent the recurrence of a similar danger and disgrace.

FROM DIARY.

April 27.—I dined alone and read a great mass of Indian papers in the evening : the only mode of preventing a depression which is almost intolerable. At times I think I cannot bear my misfortunes, and yet in the world I go on like the rest.

April 30.—I called this day on Lord Wellesley, who told me he considered himself to have been *cruelly and treacherously* used, because he was not appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and was sent to an office for which he was as much fit as for a housemaid's place, viz. Lord Chamberlain.

May 1.—Labouring hard on Indian business. I am much more interested with the work of my present office than with that of either of my other offices.

May 8.—Called on Lord Durham and found him very much softened. He expressed an earnest wish to be employed under our Government, as a means of regaining his old friends. He said that he saw in the present Government the best chance for good measures. His tone was quite different

1835. from what it had been formerly, and I could not help believing him sincere.

We are in a position anything but encouraging. Our leader and our other Secretary of State are out of Parliament, the King is against us, the Court also, a majority of nearly a hundred Peers also. The Army, the Navy, the Church, the law, the squires, the magistracy, against us. A majority of the upper classes in every part of the Empire against us. To balance this we have a precarious majority of about 30 in the House of Commons; and, having these prospects, we meet Parliament on Tuesday next without having either of our two great Reforms, in the Irish Church and the Corporations, decided upon in any one essential particular.

We are bold men, but Peel was bolder, for he met Parliament in a minority. I should have, however, no apprehension if my colleagues were all like Thomson, Howick, and Duncannon, and, I may add, Russell, although he is too much led by Lord Holland and Lord Grey.

May 11.—I dined with a great friend of the party, and one who has been a successful farmer of a great estate. I mean Mr. Coke, of Norfolk.

Mr. Coke is eighty-two years of age, and as hale and active, both in mind and body, as he has been for many a long year. His young wife, Lady Anne (a Keppel), has brought him five children—four boys and one girl. It would be difficult to find a more signal instance of the highest moral worth rewarded with the greatest worldly prosperity.

A worthy prelate, the Bishop of Norwich, who is more than ninety years of age, made Mr. Coke a present of a mourning-ring the other day, and said to him, "We shall soon meet in heaven; and, whether this is given to you now or a few months hence, matters not." 1835.

Mr. Fox was a great deal at Holham in the shooting-season, and Mr. Coke told me of him what I was somewhat surprised to hear—that he seldom opened a book during these visits, except on a Sunday, and then his reading was very desultory. Mr. Coke told me that he hardly ever heard Mr. Fox speak harshly of any man. Some one happening to say to him, "You must allow Sir John Lade was a stupid man," Fox replied: "I allow no such thing; he was a d—d clever fellow, the best driver of a four-in-hand in England; and a man who does what he attempts very well cannot be called stupid."

May 16.—I dined at St. James's Hotel with Lady E. Hope Vere and her two daughters. One of them sang some Scottish songs beautifully. She—at least, the upper part of her face—is like my ever-beloved wife, her aunt.

May 30.—I dined at Lambeth Palace for the first time in my life. It seemed to me by far the most princely establishment and entertainment I ever saw in my life. The worthy, mild Archbishop¹ played the host admirably. We had the Duke of Newcastle and many other red-hot

¹ Dr. Howley.

1835. churchmen, besides Bishops and clergymen in abundance.

June 3.—Lord Palmerston had an audience with H.M. on the affairs of Spain. The King said he would never consent to an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France. The old gentleman is full of prejudices. I saw a letter from him to Lord Glenelg, full of abuse of the Canadian Radicals, and talking of Messrs. Hume and Roebuck and that tribe. I mentioned it to Russell, and said that Sir H. Taylor¹ ought not to pen such language. Russell said one was like the other, and that *when two fools get together* the result was generally of the same kind.

June 4.—I had a long conversation with Lord Melbourne, in the course of which I said I thought Lord Grey knew nothing of the inevitable result of the Reform Bill. “You are quite right there,” said Lord Melbourne; “he did not; he thought it just a measure to satisfy the people at the moment, and nothing more.”

June 5.—Lord John Russell brought forward his Corporation Reform Bill. Every one to whom I spoke seemed delighted with our measure, and well they may be; it is a good measure—simple and sound, bold, judicious, and safe. At least, so I think, and, in a selfish view, very advantageous for our friends and our prospects.

¹ General Sir Herbert Taylor was successively secretary to the Duke of York, George III., Queen Charlotte, and William IV. Died in 1839.

June 17.—At this time great efforts were made 1835.
by the French Cabinet to induce our Government to send a squadron, in conjunction with France, to the coast of Spain.¹ Our King objected much to the flags of the two nations being seen together. He also did not like to detach any part of our naval force far. He has but one alarm, which is Russia, and even Melbourne himself seemed to think Russia might possibly send a fleet into the Channel and sweep our seas. To me this is chimerical, but Melbourne seems to have some information.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

June 25.—We were employed this day in the House, most unprofitably and disagreeably, in debating the case of the Dorsetshire labourers. I tried to prevail on Russell to remit the sentences of these misguided men, and he would have done this; but the Cabinet were against him, and he could only get their consent to a remission of punishment for four out of the six.

June 27, D.N. 49.—In Downing Street Russell told me of a singular conversation that he had had with the King about the Militia. H.M. said that Lord Chatham introduced the Militia Bill against the wishes of George II., but that George III. liked the Militia; and, added H.M., so did he, and he should disapprove of any plan

¹ On the death of Ferdinand VII. in 1833, the Carlists made an attempt on the throne, and the Regent Christina was supported by the Quadruple Alliance, which assured to the Christinos the support of France.

1835. that rendered the staff of it less prepared for effective service. Russell said the people and the Parliament did not care about foreign politics, and thought any measures for defending England unnecessary. "Very true, my lord," said the King; "and that is what I call penny wise and pound foolish." H.M. then went on to speak of Russia, and said that he had heard there was an army of 100,000 Russians ready for embarkation in the Baltic; and he added, "I do not know how you feel, my lord; but I own they make me shake in my shoes."

Russell told the King that he had no fear of French intervention, but that he thought the French Government unstable. "Yes, my lord," said the King, "and that is because they have not an honest man at the head of it, and the Ministers intrigue. There is this difference between England and France: here we may differ on certain points; you and I may differ; but we all of us mean well, and have but one object. I have my view of things, and I tell them to my Ministers. If they do not adopt them, I cannot help it. I have done my duty."

On Monday, June 29, came on the threatened attack on my department, for revoking the appointment of Lord Heytesbury from one of the most important offices in the joint gift of the Crown and East India Company, which Sir Robert Peel, even though the Government was in its last agonies, had contrived to bestow upon him. He

had the largest majority that the Melbourne Government ever obtained, and, meeting Lord Stanley the next day, he said to me, "I could not vote against you; you made a d—d good speech in a d—d bad cause." 1835.

We heard of a strange speech made by H.M. in Council, when Sir Charles Grey¹ was sworn in as Commissioner to Canada. H.M. would have Sir Charles recollect that Canada was "won by the sword, and that he would never give up the Royal prerogative in that province; that he would never permit the Legislative Council to be elective; that he, the King, said this, although others might say otherwise, and although some had dared, in his presence, to hold contrary language"—alluding to Grant. When interviewed by Lord Melbourne on the subject, H.M. owned he had been wrong in talking of his confidential advisers before those who were not members of the Cabinet; but he was in a state of great excitement, and angry, particularly at Lord Durham's being appointed to the Russian Mission.

Lord Palmerston told me that, at table the other day, two Bishops being present, some one talked of Lord John Russell's health, on which H.M. said, "If you will answer for his death, I will answer for his damnation."

This was not all we heard of the Royal dis-

¹ Sir Charles Grey (1765–1835) had been a Judge of the Madras Supreme Court and Chief Justice of Bengal. He had just been appointed as a Special Commissioner to Canada.

1835. inclination to us; for, on Saturday, July 11, in Downing Street, Lord Melbourne addressed us as follows: "Gentlemen, you may as well know how you stand"; and, pulling a paper from his pocket, he read a memorandum of a conversation between the King and Lord Gosford, after the review, the day before. The King said to Lord Gosford: "Mind what you are about in Canada. By G—d! I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective. Mind me, my lord, the Cabinet is not my Cabinet; they had better take care, or, by G—d! I will have them impeached. You are a gentleman, I believe. I have no fear of you; but take care what you do."

We all stared at each other. Melbourne said, "It is better not to quarrel with him. He is evidently in a state of great excitement." And yet H.M. had given his assent in writing to the second reading of our Irish Church Reform Bill, which showed that these outbursts were more physical than signs of any settled design; although there were some of us who thought it was intended to drive us, by incivilities, to resign our places, and thus make us the apparent authors of our own retirement.

It was clear to me that, if we continued in the Government, it would be entirely owing to the good sense and good manners of our chief, who knew how to deal with his master, as well as with his colleagues, and never, that I saw, made a mistake in regard to either; and I must add that,

1835.

when a stand was to be made on anything considered to be a vital principle of his Government, he was as firm as a rock.

Such was the case at this time, when Lord Radnor made his motion for dispensing, in certain cases, with subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. On the division our friends in the Lords had only 57 votes to 169; but Lord Melbourne made a speech, which was of more service to his Government, in the country, than twenty majorities in the Lords. The spirit, the eloquence, the sincerity, the deep feeling of every word, made a great impression on all who heard, and all who read, what he said.

The instructions which he had agreed upon as the basis of Lord Gosford's Administration in Canada met with much disfavour by H.M. He broke out violently against the use of certain words, saying, "No, my lord, I will not have that word; strike out 'conciliatory'—strike out 'liberal;'" and then he added, "You cannot wonder at my making these difficulties with a Ministry that has been forced upon me."

On the following Wednesday, however, H.M. said he approved every word of the instructions; remarking that he was not like William III., who often signed what he did not approve.

Such was this kind, good man, generally most just and generous, but, when irritated, scarcely himself. He was more sincere than suited his Royal Office, and could not conceal his likings or

1835. dislikings from those who were most affected by them.

Our Corporation Bill was read a third time on July 20, and passed amidst loud cheering. Thus one of our principal pledges was nobly redeemed.

FROM DIARY.

July 25.—Lord Lansdowne told me that H.M., in a speech at Caen Wood, gave an account of his progress to Hampstead, and said that he lived in the hearts of his subjects! He asked where the Duke of Wellington was, and the Duke of Cumberland was about to call him up. “No, no,” said the King, “let him stay at the bottom of the table. When he is there, I know he will make you change your glasses!”

If His Majesty was occasionally a little incautious in his talk, he had to listen to language much more imprudent than his own. One day the “Nulli Secundus”¹ dined at St. James’s, and, on the King giving the health of Colonel Conyers and the Essex Militia, Conyers said that H.M. had now no foreign enemies against whom his Army and Navy might distinguish themselves; but that, if his Militia had to charge the Radicals, they would be the first to draw the sword, and the last to sheathe it. The King held down his head, and did not say a word. All the company had the grace to appear ashamed.

¹ The “Nulli Secundus” is the dining-club of the Coldstream Guards.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1835.

July 31.—Lord Auckland has accepted the offer of going to India. He had an audience of H.M. to-day, who was very civil to him, and said that, "although they differed in politics, yet he was an honest man."

FROM DIARY.

August 3.—The great debate on our Corporation Bill in the Lords.¹ Melbourne distinguished himself much, particularly when he denounced the resistance of the Lords as an act of suicide; but we were beaten by 124 to 54.

The more violent were for rejecting the Bill at once, the next for hearing evidence, so that the Duke of Wellington was glad to compound for the evidence, although he had given assurance to Melbourne publicly that he did not wish to delay the Bill by such a course. To this Melbourne alluded in his reply, when he said, "He would never again enter into engagements with those

¹ "The Lords made some important alterations in the provisions relating to the collection of tithes, and rejected the appropriation clauses. In vain did Lord Melbourne warn them that, if they persisted in dealing with the Bill in this way, it would be abandoned by the Government, and that the consequence of that abandonment would be, not only that the clergy, unable to collect their tithes, would be reduced to beggary, but also that the Government would be compelled by law to take proceedings against them in the Exchequer Court of Ireland to recover from them £650,000, which had been advanced to them from the public funds. Undeterred by these warnings, the Conservative majority persisted in the course they had decided to adopt, and the bill was withdrawn. The Government did not execute the threat they had held out in order to induce the Lords to accept the appropriation clause."—**SIR W. MOLESWORTH.**

1835. who either wanted the power or the will to keep them." The Duke looked very black, and pulled his hat over his eyes. Some one told Melbourne this. He said, "I did not mean to go near the wind."

In fact, Melbourne was very angry, and what the papers call excited, which the Tories interpret "drunk." Melbourne announced his intention to sit out the inquiry and never leave his post, much to the dismay of the Tories, who were fools enough to expect he would resign.

August 5.—I dined at Sir R. Ferguson's, and met the famous Mrs. Somerville,¹ a most pleasing, unaffected person, not handsome, but agreeable in her looks. She did not talk much but upon her own subjects.

September 7.—After many conferences and discussions between the Lords and Commons, on our Corporation Bill, it was at last resolved to adopt some of the Lords' amendments and reject others. The Lords were much disappointed that we were not more violent.

It appears Peel has been excited by Melbourne calling his "a clap-trap Administration." *Ce n'est que la vérité qui blesse.* Perhaps Melbourne might as well have not used the word, but it applies.

Thus was completed this second great measure

¹ Mary, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, and wife of William Somerville. The most distinguished lady-mathematician and astronomer. Her principal work is that on the *Connection of the Physical Sciences*. She died in her ninety-third year, in 1872.

of the Whig or Liberal Ministry ; and I am happy 1835.
to have had a share in it.

September 9.—At a Council held to-day occurred a most remarkable scene. When H.M. was to say, “Approved,” to the reduction of the Militia staff, he burst out :—“My Lords, nothing should induce me to assent to this, but for two reasons ; one is, that I do not wish to expose those Colonels who have deserted their duty, and done so much to injure this constitutional force ; the other is, that I am resolved the system shall be put upon a better footing the next session of Parliament. My Lords, I am an old man—older than any of your Lordships—and, therefore, know more than any of you. In 1756 George II. had, as I have now, what was called a Whig Ministry ; that Ministry originated a Militia Bill, to frame a constitutional defence of the kingdom. George II. had not the advantages which his successors possessed. He opposed the Bill ; and he was seconded by certain persons, in different counties, some from one motive, some from another, perhaps subserviency ; but his Ministers wisely persevered, and carried their measure ; since which time this great force has been kept up as it ought to be, and shall be, in spite of agitators in Ireland, and agitators in England ; for, my Lords, I dread to think what might be the consequences if Russia were to attack us unprepared. I say never will I consent to the destruction of this force, and, early in the next session of Parliament, *whoever may be,*

1835. *or whoever are, Ministers*, I will have the Militia restored to a proper state. I say this, not only before my confidential advisers, but before others [C. Greville and two or three others of the household], because I wish to have my sentiments known."

Such was the substance, and, in great part, the very words, of His Majesty's harangue. We looked at one another. Lord Melbourne was very black, and very haughty. I thought he would have broken out.

Lord Melbourne then read the Speech very distinctly, and gave it to the King, who said, "I approve it much; be so good as to keep it for me until to-morrow."

September 10.—I went to the House of Commons to see the King prorogue Parliament. H.M. looked overwhelmed with his robes and crown; and read his Speech rather feebly, until he came to "Gentlemen of the House of Commons," which he roared out so loudly as to make us all laugh.

November 6.—I passed the greater part of my holidays at Corsham, but I spent a couple of days at Bowood. When I was a boy I used to think what wonders there were at Bowood; what a palace the house; what a miracle the master, the old lord. Now everything seemed pleasing enough—no more.

Lord L. told me that he and Lord Holland had seen the Duke of Somerset *dance* in the House of Lords. Some evidence had been given in the

Queen's trial as to the lascivious dancing. The Duke was in the gallery, and, supporting himself on the rail, actually began to cut capers, and to practise his conception of what the witnesses had said. All in absence of mind! 1835.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

December 4.—This day I dined at the Pavilion. There were forty-six guests at the royal dinner-table. Sir W. Freemantle, the Controller, told me that three hundred mouths were fed daily at the Palace; also that last year 36,000 bottles of wine were drunk. But H.M. keeps within his parliamentary income.

The dinner was not a lively affair; but I had the good fortune to sit opposite to Lady Augusta Kennedy, a lovely woman. In the drawing-room the King and Queen sat at table with seven or eight ladies. The maids of honour sat at another table. The Princesses played at cards. Lord Melbourne flirted with Mdle d'Este and Lady Falkland.

We had a Council at St. James's on February 3, where the King pricked the Sheriffs. H.M. remarked that he supposed the usage was derived from times when the Kings of England could not write. The King opened Parliament in person the next day. 1836.

At H.M.'s desire I went to see him, and found him in very good humour. He talked of all sorts of things, and told me that his intercourse with many men in that closet had given him an insight

1836. into human nature. H.M. broke out into a tirade against the Scots generally, as being "too national." Amongst other topics he touched upon the advantage of practical knowledge, and mentioned that thus it was that he had the best of the argument when talking with Lord Glenelg, and had set him *right fifty times on colonial questions*. I could not help laughing outright at this, and the King was not angry.

February 26.—We had a debate on the Spanish War. Peel made an insolent speech against Palmerston, to whom he seemed, at that time, to have taken a general dislike. Russell said he relied on me to answer him, and, although I had not heard much of the debate, Peel was so unfair and so violent that I thought I would try my hand. I told Peel *that his genius was too ponderous for a joke*, and so it was. He invariably failed in that attempt.

On March 8, at the House of Commons, I sat from a little after seven until three in the morning. After some skirmishing, Sir James Graham made a most furious onslaught against Roman Catholic domination in Ireland; I should have liked to answer him, but was prevented by a recent difference.

At this time we had to consider a proposal to guarantee a loan to Spain. George Villiers, our Minister at Madrid, urged this measure, and was supported by Palmerston and Lord Holland. The rest of us were averse from interference in Spain.

Lord Melbourne was very uneasy at these proceedings, and told one of us that he could not sleep at night for thinking on them; but our Foreign Secretary was not easily deterred from a favourite scheme, and showed symptoms of that indomitable perseverance, which, since those days, has carried him triumphantly through so many difficulties. 1836.

I went to the Levee on Wednesday, April 13. His Majesty, passing the circle, stopped opposite to Lord Minto, and said, "Your lordship need not propose it to me; I never will consent—I never will. I like speaking plainly." Lord Minto bowed, and said, "Very well, Sir." I heard afterwards that this related to a rumour that the sailors' pensions were to be lowered to the scale of the soldiers' pensions. The King saw Lord Minto in the closet afterwards, and repeated this. Minto told him that he knew nothing of any such intention; but that, as to the soldiers' pensions, the scale was settled in 1833, with the full concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief. H.M. replied "that he doubted this." At a Council afterwards, however, H.M. was in a state of strange excitement. On hearing some order read relative to the Colonies, of which he had not before heard, he exclaimed, two or three times, "Postponed—postponed," and wrote the word down opposite the order, with "W.R." I was near laughing, and so was Lord Holland, who sat opposite the King.

1836. *April 25.*—I had a *tête-à-tête* with Joseph Hume,¹ who good-humouredly gave me an account of his early Indian career. He told me he owed his success to his facility in acquiring the oriental languages. I should not have guessed that he had possessed that facility; but I had no doubt that he believed he did.

FROM DIARY.

April 30.—I dined at the Royal Academy, Somerset House, for the first time in my life. A very brilliant and striking spectacle. There was not the slightest allusion to politics.

I had a few words with Lord Anglesey in allusion to our short political connection, and he said, "I believe you, as well as myself, are an idle man now." "Why, not quite," and I told him the fact, on which he begged my pardon, and said he had lived out of the world. This comes of never speaking in Parliament. But were it otherwise, what is the use of the "life in other's breath"?

May 1.—Cold as Christmas! Dined at Devonshire House—32 at table, and, as F. Byng remarked, 4 Garters and 5 or 6 Dukes. I sat next to John Russell, and had some pleasant talk with that excellent man.

¹ Joseph Hume, when twenty years old, went out to India in the E.I.C.S. service as surgeon and interpreter; he returned in 1807, and was elected as a Tory for Weymouth before he became Radical M.P. for Aberdeen, and subsequently for Middlesex, which he represented at this time.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1836.

Lord Stanley told me to-day he had no desire for office, and wished us to keep our places. I replied that he had the oddest way of showing such inclination, and reminded him of his comparing us to "the cords, the ladder, or the hangman rather?" "Oh," said he, "that was my Hotspur speech."

On Monday, May 9, the Government received a check in the House of Commons, on a subject to which I had previously paid a good deal of attention. P. Thompson, very indiscreetly, and without consulting the Cabinet, proposed an alteration in the Factory Bill, allowing children from twelve to thirteen years of age to work twelve instead of eight hours in a day. His chief argument was, that no less than 30,000 children would be discharged from the mills, unless this permission were given. Lord Ashley opposed him, and stated very truly that it was unfair to repeal one of the most efficient clauses of the Government Bill of 1833. The debate was, to me at least, very disagreeable. We carried Thompson's motion only by two: a cruel measure.

The opposite party, having failed to defeat Lord Melbourne in Parliament, had recourse to scandalous gossip, and propagated a rumour which ended in a court of law.¹ I was convinced there was no real foundation for the charge, for Lord

¹ This case is fully recorded in "The Life of the Hon. Mrs. Norton," by Miss Perkins.

1836. Melbourne wished to engage the services of Sergeant Wilde; but Wilde had a general Retainer, which prevented him from taking a brief on the other side. Melbourne said to Wilde, "I am sorry you cannot hold a brief for me; for I give you my honour, as a gentleman, that this charge is false." Wilde told me he had not the slightest doubt that Lord Melbourne spoke the truth.

FROM DIARY.

May 13.—I went to the Queen's Ball. The Prince of Orange and his two raw sons there. The Princess Victoria danced.

May 15.—There was an eclipse to-day. I saw it very distinctly, even with the naked eye, and showed it to my little girls through some smoked glass in the Square gardens. The shade and a coolness were very perceptible; but I saw no planet, nor did the birds retire to roost.

General Gascoyne told me to-day that the King had spoken to him in very proper terms on the Melbourne business; and called it an "under-plot." H. M. said he wished the Duke of Cumberland and others would not come to him and abuse his Ministers personally; as for their politics, that was another matter.

May 24.—Went to Whitton. Desolate and melancholy in the extreme. A thousand painful recollections crowded over me. I go there no more!

June 4.—Dined at Whitbread's, Chiswick. I 1836.
took Lord Lansdowne with me. Lords Grey,
Tavistock, and many others were at the table,
besides the partners.

Lord Grey was in high dudgeon, and though surrounded by old friends and late colleagues and connections, hardly spoke a word, and never asked a man to take a glass of wine with him. Lansdowne told me, amongst other proofs of his intractable temper and foolish pettiness, that he had complained of not being asked to speak on the Irish Bill. Lord Lansdowne added that he was angry at not being what he might have been, Prime Minister, and could not forgive Lord Melbourne his success. If Melbourne had failed he would have been his strenuous supporter. Now he does nothing but grumble and growl. For my own part, I must say that the more I see, the less I think of him; and am surprised how, by mere fluency of speech and arrogance of manner, this really inferior man has contrived to lead a great party, and to connect his name imperishably with the most splendid triumphs of British legislation.

June 11.—We were all in great good humour to-day at the Cabinet, and after the business was over, we talked of indifferent matters. Amongst others, Lord Holland enlightened us on the subject of Catholic confessions. He told us that Napoleon asked Charles Fox what he thought of the Concordat, saying he might speak out, as Cardinal

1836. Caprara,¹ who was near, would not mind about what he said. Fox objected to the celibacy of the priests, but Napoleon said he could not have done away with that unless he established Protestantism. Melbourne observed truly that, if you have confession, you cannot have a married priesthood.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

Saturday, June 18.—I took my children to Lord Breadalbane's house in Park Lane, to see a review of about 4,000 troops, a very pretty sight. Their Majesties, accompanied by the Prince of Orange, were present. The Duke of Wellington rode in front of his own regiment, the Grenadier Guards, and saluted the King. He was much cheered; it was Waterloo day. My children, in the balcony of Lord Breadalbane's house, were much admired. They did look very pretty, to say the truth.

June 20.—At the House to-day we had a debate on reducing the stamp duty on newspapers to a penny. Roebuck made a very good speech, which a member, called Kearsley, designated as disgusting; and, on being called to order by my friend Methuen, who was a little elevated, exclaimed, "Paul, Paul, why persecutest thou me?" Whereat, to my astonishment, the House was convulsed with laughter, in which Graham, Stanley,

¹ Cardinal Caprara, born 1733. In 1801, as legate *a latere* in France, he signed the Concordat on behalf of Pius VII. He was afterwards Archbishop of Milan, and in that capacity crowned Napoleon as King of Italy in 1805.

and Peel joined most heartily. I thought I was almost the only man who did not laugh. 1836.

June 22.—This night, at twelve o'clock, the jury in the Melbourne case returned a verdict in favour of the defendant. They were scarcely a minute absent. Campbell treated the charge as it deserved, and the jury went along with him during the whole trial. In one or two instances he tried them rather high, I thought; but he knew his men, and gained a complete victory.

On June 23 Mr. Grote made his famous speech in favour of Ballot. I did not consider myself at liberty to vote for any essential change in the representative system, after being a party—and an active party, too—in carrying our Reform Bill; but I confessed then, and I confess now, that I have never heard Mr. Grote's arguments answered satisfactorily. Little interest was excited, either in Parliament or the country, by this question.

On June 26, we were woefully beaten in the Lords on our Irish Corporation Bill, and at our next Cabinet meeting Lord Melbourne opened the proceedings by saying that, under ordinary circumstances, we should resign our offices; but that, as we came in with the declared opposition of the Peers—and as, at the beginning of this very session, the Peers had declared against our Irish Corporation Reform—we knew nothing now that we did not know before, and our resignations would not be justifiable. His opinion, therefore, was,

1836. that we ought to go on quietly now, and try a new measure next session.

On Thursday, June 30, there was another conference between the Lords and Commons. The Peers sat covered, all but the Duke of Wellington, who read the reasons for dissenting from our Bill. He stood, and was uncovered; he faltered, and looked very old. We then went back to our own House, and Russell made a good speech, rejecting the Lords' re-amendments at once. Peel owned that the two Houses were not in a temper to agree this year, adding that he would not divide the House on the question, "for fear of wrong inferences being drawn from the numbers." The fact was, we had a majority of a hundred present, and our Stanley told me we had three hundred members in London.

July 2.—At the Cabinet this day we had some discussion with reference to the marriage of the Princess Victoria. It appears the King wrote a letter to Lord Melbourne, in which he stated his own wish to be that the Princess should marry the second son of the Prince of Orange. Lord Melbourne wrote a long letter to the King, decidedly objecting to this scheme, and stating that, in these matters, the inclinations of the young lady herself might disconcert the best-arranged scheme. He concluded by requesting that the arrangement might be deferred.

July 9.—I dined at Holland House at a sort of family party, with Lord and Lady Lilford, Lord

Plunket, and Sir Robert Adair, and, of course, Mr. Allen. Our talk turned chiefly on the merits and character of Burke. 1836.

Lord Plunket, who knew him, said he was not quite sane. Allen decried all his works, except his earlier, which he said were stolen, as being gross exaggerations. Lord Holland would not admit this, neither would Sir Robert Adair, but Lord Plunket rather agreed with Allen. Whether the talkers in this dialogue were of capacity to discuss the merits of such a man as Burke, I could not pretend to decide; but I was much interested in listening to their conversation. Holland House is, after all, the only place which I frequent, of which the conversation is worth recording.

I was at the Levee on August 3, and heard from one of the King's sons that the good old gentleman had been assailed on all sides, since the reduction of our majority to 26. Our resignation was publicly spoken of, and the day for that happy event fixed.

Even quiet and courageous Lord Melbourne began to give way, and told us that he had long had doubts whether it was right and becoming to go on with the government in our present condition. There was an immense majority against us in the Lords, and the English constituencies, so far as we knew, were against us—the Court decidedly hostile—and nothing but an insignificant majority in the Commons in our favour, and even there it was only on doubtful and unpopular

1836. questions that we outnumbered our opponents. Lord Melbourne said a man must have the patience of an ass to stand against such odds.

August 10.—A very numerous deputation, headed by Lord William Bentinck, waited on me at the India Board, to discuss a proposal for establishing a steam communication with India. The scheme met with many and serious obstructions, but was started at last. I heard no complaints, except from a very clever friend of mine, who said to me, “The deuce take these projectors! Letters come from India now quite quick and quite often enough; I am sure many of them are not answered yet. What will it be when letters and despatches come from India once a week?”

August 20.—I went to the House of Lords to see the King prorogue Parliament. There was a great crowd, especially of ladies. The King got through his part very well, though he could scarcely see to read; and, on the whole, all went off well.

I made up my mind to make a short journey on the Continent, and accordingly engaged a courier, and made other preparation for my little excursion. I wrote requesting His Majesty's permission for my absence abroad for a few weeks, and two days after came a civil but a flat refusal from the King. His Majesty put his denial chiefly upon the state of affairs in Spain, which, he said, had caused a conjuncture more critical than any which had occurred since his accession to the

throne, and required the deliberate attention of all his confidential servants, and the attendance of all of them in Cabinet. 1834.

I called on Lord Melbourne and he told me that Lord Glenelg had also been stopped from going abroad. He added that he should not be much surprised if we were soon turned out, imprudent as such a step might be; for the people might sympathise with us, and the House of Commons refuse the supplies. The feeling that we were ill-treated had given us the majority in the elections before, and might do the same again. Lord Melbourne said that, in 1834, the dismissal was the result of a scheme. Now there was no scheme, but H.M. was all but crazy. This, added to his dislike of us, might bring about the catastrophe.

FROM DIARY.

September 16.—I resolved to take a little tour in England, and went to Brighton, with my brother Henry, thence to Chichester and Hale, where I remained on a visit to my dear friend, David Baillie.

September 23.—Rode out with Baillie to the residence of Sir Charles Hulse. His wife was made by will the heiress to the fortune now held by Sir Joseph Copley, in consequence of a love attachment on the part of the owner. She had the generosity to give up the whole estate, reserving only a monied bequest of £20,000 to £25,000. The Copleys abuse their benefactress for not resigning the whole, although what they

1836. have received from her bounty amounts to £12,000 a year. Baillie added, "I cannot look at her without veneration." What is to be said of the wag, Sir Joseph?

September 25.—I rode over to Trafalgar, and saw the great brick house in a half-naked park, entirely stripped by the personal heirs of the late Lord Nelson; and the windows nearly all demolished by the furious hail-storm of last June. So ruined a record of national gratitude I could not have expected to find; but the nation looks one way and the family another.

I recollected the arrival of the news of the glorious victory as distinctly as if I had heard it only the day before, and the dilapidated mansion and poverty-stricken premises produced feelings which I will not attempt to record.

I went from Hale to Hindon, Bath, and Chepstow, stopping at Tintern Abbey, that lovely ruin! I thought it looked more fresh than when I last saw it. I wonder what it thought of me? It rained so hard that I could not go out in the evening, but I read *Henry V.* and some of the speeches made me start again, to say nothing of the inimitable fooling.

September 28.—Went to Ross. The chief interest here made by Pope. The guide-books tell only of Kyrle¹; yet it is not quite certain that

¹ John Kyrle (1637-1724), immortalised by Pope as the "Man of Ross" for his beneficent charitable works. The Kyrle Society is named after him.

more than half of Pope's character of this immortal man is not fiction: the fiction of a great poet is better than the fact of a common man. 1836.

I made a little tour in Wales at this time, and was more than ever convinced that there is no necessity for going out of the British Isles in order to behold sublime scenery.

I was much struck with the Menai Bridge, and gazed at that stupendous work from several positions with increased admiration; and felt proud, not only of my nation, but of my kind.

On October 2nd I went to Kinnel Park, the seat of Lord Dinorben. There was a large party assembled to meet the Duke of Sussex and his wife, Lady Cecilia Underwood. The guest in whom I took the most delight was Doctor Buckland, who was an agreeable mixture of sense and simplicity.

I took particular notice of what he said as to the probable exhaustion of our great coal-fields, and the shameful waste of that material, the true source of our wealth and grandeur, which is going on unceasingly at the pit mouths.

October 5.—I left Kinnel, and resumed my quarters at my Putney Villa, until October 10, when I returned to London.

I had an audience with the King, who urged the necessity of watching the western frontier of India. He then said that George III. was a good King for Home affairs, but neglected continental relations. If he had followed Lord

1836. Chatham's advice, and disputed America with Germany, he would not have lost that country. H.M. added that George IV. attended to Home affairs and Foreign affairs, but neglected the Colonies. "Now," continued the King, "this is a fine country; but it is nothing without its Colonial possessions, especially India."

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On Monday, November 28, I went to a Cabinet at Lansdowne House, instead of the Foreign Office. This was in consequence of the death of Augustus Lamb, only child of Lord Melbourne—the poor sickly lad whom I used to see with his mother in 1812 and 1814. He was thirty years of age. Melbourne did not affect any grief, but went on with our business.

November 29.—I went down to Brighton. The wind blew a perfect hurricane, and I thought the carriage would be upset going down to Reigate. On the road I heard that one arch of the Chain Pier at Brighton had been blown away, and several houses unroofed by the wind.

In the evening I dined at the Pavilion, but the ceremony was more dull than usual, although Sir William Freemantle did all he could to enliven our end of the table. The evening was intolerably tiresome, in spite of the Queen's band in the great room, and an amusing game of chess between the beautiful Miss Mitchell and the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen.

Parliament was opened by commission on Tuesday, January 31. The King was not well, the Queen was ill, and the Duchess of Gloucester was dying. 1837.

I went early to the House on Tuesday, February 7. Russell had already begun his speech on Irish affairs, and had said that the Administration would stand or fall by the Corporation Bill now introduced.

The debate was resumed the next day. Sir James Graham spoke as if we clung to office from mean or mercenary motives, and ended by a violent tirade against Popery. I then spoke, and used the phrase, "When the happy day shall come to release us from this thankless servitude"; and Peel, in his reply, fastened on these words as if they announced our speedy resignation, although, in fact, they were only a repetition of what Russell had said in opening the debate.

I heard that what I had said of the happy day that was to release us from our thankless servitude had given rise to rumours of our immediate relinquishment of office. The comment on this from our opponents was somewhat flattering; for they were pleased to say that I was honest and truth-speaking, and really did wish to leave office. This was true so far as the desire to leave office was concerned; not so much, however, from any dislike of office, as because I did not see how we could retain it now without loss of character, and consequently of influence.

1837. *February 11.*—Passing the evening with Lady Holland, I found her ladyship not at all pleased with our threatened resignation. She asked me whether I thought we were really going out. I said, “Most assuredly; *c’est le commencement de la fin*,” so certain did the event appear to me at that time.

On February 14 I dined at Lord Holland’s. The company was composed chiefly of artists, all of them very distinguished—Westmacott, Landseer, and Leslie. Lord Holland told us some amusing anecdotes of Nollekens’ miserly habits, which were accepted by his guests as facts. Amongst others, he mentioned that this eminent sculptor asked leave of his barber to take home with him the paper on which he wiped his razor—the soap might be useful to him.

February 22.—Walking across the Green Park to Berkeley Square this day, I met Sir Robert Peel with a young person under his arm—his daughter, I presumed. We saluted each other civilly, and shook hands. Who made the first advance I did not know, but he apologised very civilly for giving me only his two fingers, as he had his gloves and stick in his hand. I said I hoped the debate would end that night. He replied that he hoped so too; he was almost killed; it was too tiresome. I told him that I did not wonder at that, considering his constant attendance at the House. After a word or two more we parted, when he very cordially, and with an

expression and manner such as I never witnessed in him either before or since, wished me "Good-bye." 1837.

This little incident might not have been worth mentioning had it not broken in upon a plan which I had long acted upon—namely, not to have a personal acquaintance with an opponent of whom I was occasionally compelled to speak with asperity, more particularly with Sir Robert Peel, whose private manners I understood not to be agreeable, and who seemed to me to have none of the generosity which is indispensable in order to render intercourse with political antagonists at all endurable. But, at all events, my meditated speech was disposed of, for I did not like to say what I had in store for Sir Robert after our interview.

On March 11 I dined at the Duchess of Kent's, and met rather a dull party, except that it was enlivened a little by the Archbishop of Dublin, who sprawled about at his ease, and joked with Stanley, of the Treasury, about a pretty little "ooman"—a pronunciation, he said, which showed that our cockneys knew how to drop the digamma. Lord Palmerston arrived, as usual, late, after we had sat down to dinner. The Princess Victoria looked in good health. I sat next to her governess, who told me that H.R.H. knew German, and French, and Latin, well; and studied much, delighting particularly in history.

1837. FROM DIARY.

March 18.—I had a party to dinner—the Albe-
marles, Mintos, and Mrs. Methuen, Lady Charlotte
Lindsay, Captain Maitland, and the young Rajah
Ram Roy. The Rajah is really a very superior
young fellow. He gave us a very entertaining
account of a walking tour in Scotland. On one
occasion he went up to an old woman who was
working in a field, and asked his way; the woman
raised her head suddenly, and exclaiming, “The
deil! the deil!” ran away.

FROM BOOK, “RECOLLECTIONS.”

There was much apprehension at this time of
some impending crisis. I heard from more than
one person that, if a change of Government took
place, there would be a run on the Bank.

On April 20 I dined with a gallant old officer,
who obtained much repute in the great war.
Lord Lynedoch¹ was then nearly ninety years of
age; he heard well, and his eyes served him also
pretty well since they had been couched. He was

¹ Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch (1748–1843), had a very varied and adventurous career. He raised the Perthshire Volunteers in 1794, the year he entered Parliament for Perthshire. After acting as British Commissioner with the Austrian army in Mantua, he took part in the capture of Minorca, and commanded the troops blockading Malta. He was aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore in the campaign of Corunna in 1809. He won the victory of Barossa; but, owing to some dispute with the Spanish generals, he resigned his command. He served throughout the Peninsular War under Wellington, and commanded the British contingent in Holland in 1814. He was created Baron Lynedoch in 1814. He had also the reputation of being a cricketer, and is supposed to have taken part in the first Scottish cricket-match.

gay and gallant to the ladies of the party, and, except a long story or two, betrayed no signs of old age. I had kept up my acquaintance with him since his hospitable reception of me when he commanded our army before Cadiz, and fought the battle of Barossa. 1837.

Our Irish Tithe Bill still gave rise to much controversy amongst ourselves; and, as Lyndhurst and the Duke of Cumberland had made their appearance, we supposed the struggle was about to begin in real earnest. Lord Melbourne, at this juncture, was of the greatest service, and led the party in the Lords in a way that showed he was worthy to lead it. He said nothing that could induce his audience to believe we were on the eve of retirement. He declared there was nothing in the state of the country that called for a change of Government, or that could prevent any other Cabinet from being formed, and conducting public business, honourably and usefully; and he characterised Sir Robert Peel's description of the state of affairs at home and abroad as *the humble labour of a low and creeping policy!* Lord Melbourne's vigorous assault on the leader of the Opposition came with the greater force as he very seldom indulged in any invective; indeed never, except when compelled to repel unjust attacks.

We encountered difficulties now and then, from the necessity of having two leaders; one, the Prime Minister in the Lords—the other, the Leader in the House of Commons. I reminded

1837. Lord Melbourne of his declaration that, so long as he had a majority in the Commons, he would not retire. This was after Russell had said something which indicated either a wish or an intention to resign. Lord Melbourne's reply to my reminder was, "True; but *posteriores priores abrogant*"—a very practical and convenient way of getting rid of any declaration.

After a Cabinet on Saturday, April 22, it was a great relief to dine with Mr. Powell, and meet Mr. Creevey, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Albemarle, Motteux, and Mr. Blunt. Their talk was of pies and port wine; and it was wonderful with what real learning and intelligence these healthy old gentlemen spoke on these subjects.

April 29.—On this day I dined with the Royal Academy, at their first Trafalgar Square festival; and I felt that their new abode was infinitely preferable to their old residence in Somerset House. All the great folks of all parties, except Lord Stanley, were amongst the guests.

The Exhibition was said to be the best which had been seen for some time; but I could not say that I should have come to that conclusion, from seeing one of the most conspicuous pictures: "Ulysses and the Sirens," I thought monstrous; three big, naked women sitting amongst dead bodies and bones. It was, as Lord Ripon remarked to me, "Indecorous without being attractive."

At this time an event occurred which gave me

much concern. Sir Francis Burdett came forward for Westminster, and gained the election. He made no secret of his intention to oppose the Government, and to make common cause with our declared enemies. Westminster was no longer the Westminster of Burdett and Cochrane—nor, I may add, of Burdett and Hobhouse; and my prediction that it would lose much of its pre-eminence by the passing of the Reform Bill was fulfilled to the letter. 1837.

On Saturday, May 13, I went to Erle Stoke Park, of which I had taken a lease. I was charmed with the grounds and gardens, and everything attached to that beautiful residence; but I little thought then that I should reside there one-and-twenty years.

May 19.—We had a majority this evening against Sir Andrew Agnew's proposal for stopping the Glasgow railway on Sundays. The best speech on that evening was made by Mr. Roebuck, who read part of a chapter from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and read it so impressively that he was praised even by Sir Robert Inglis.

May 22.—Sir Francis Burdett delivered a violent philippic against an amendment on our Church Rate Resolution. He uttered such High Church and ultra-Tory sentiments, so directly at variance with many well-remembered opinions of his, that our benches re-echoed with ironical cheers, replied to by vehement applause from the Opposition. Burdett was as fluent, and as self-possessed, and,

1837. rhetorically, spoke as well, as usual; but he leaned on a stick, and appeared much exhausted.

I leaned forward and covered my face with a handkerchief, for I could not bear to look steadily towards him. He spoke about half an hour; amongst other things, he "thanked God there was another House!" He ended by alluding to his own painful position, opposing men for whom he had a great personal esteem; and he said that his life had been a life of sacrifices, and this was one of them, to which he was prepared to submit.

May 23.—At the Cabinet to-day Lord Melbourne appeared with a bundle of letters, all of them referring to that which, unfortunately, was not a very unusual occurrence in the Brunswick family—namely, a feud amongst themselves; and nothing but the manliness, the good taste, and good feeling of the Prime Minister could have carried us through the difficulty.

I have recorded faithfully and fully the details, as they appeared in the correspondence, of this family feud; but I should not think myself justified in giving them a chance of being made public. Suffice it to say that the dispute arose from a want of that which is often felt by persons in all ranks of life—from sovereigns downwards—namely, money; and, in this instance, the differences were kept alive and inflamed by the rivalry of confidential advisers, who hated each other with a perfect hatred.

CHAPTER III

FROM DIARY.

1837.

May 26.—Lord Melbourne told us at the Cabinet to-day that the King's health was in a very precarious state; and we agreed that it was our duty to insist on Sir Henry Halford telling the King that he ought to take care of himself in order to prevent fatal consequences.

Melbourne mentioned that, when George IV. was dying, Halford communicated his danger to him, and the King received the news with courage and resignation, and took the Sacrament; but, getting a little better, he talked of going to Ascot. After this the King got worse again, but Halford did not think himself called upon to repeat his warning.

May 27.—I attended a Council at Windsor Castle—my first visit there. The gallery leading to the audience-rooms very striking, and the view from the great saloon over the front inexpressibly grand. The King in a *robe de chambre*, looking very red in the face, and with a feeble voice; but he went through the ordinary forms as usual, and spoke to all of us.

May 31.—We discussed our Canada Bill in the Cabinet to-day, and agreed that the Legislative

1837. Council should be dissolved, and reckon with the Assembly.

June 7.—Cabinet. Lord Melbourne announced that the King was very ill. His Majesty could not walk across the room without support; his legs were swollen, and he could not take nourishment. His Majesty attended at the same time to business, and Glenelg showed us a copy of his Canada Bill, with notes in the King's own handwriting. One of them objected to the dissolution of the Legislative Council, as forming a precedent for a radical change in the House of Lords.

June 9.—Rumours of the King's death. He is, however, much the same, and Lord Melbourne decided to have a bulletin published.

On moving the second reading of the Irish Tithe Bill, Roebuck made a speech on what he called the state of the nation, and attacked the Government in good set phrases, as impeding the march of reform, carrying no measures, and submitting to a crawling existence merely for the sake of office. Russell made a most effective speech in defence, and we carried the second reading by 215 to 14. So ended the day so anxiously looked for. The truth is, the state of the King's health has very much absorbed public attention, and present politics are forgotten in the prospects and conjectures relative to a new reign.

June 10.—The following bulletin appeared to-day:

“The King has suffered for some time from an

affection of the chest, which confines H.M. to his apartment and has produced considerable weakness, but has not interrupted his usual attention to business.” 1837.

Who would imagine from this that H.M. was dying ? and yet I believe he is !

June 16.—Summoned to a Council at Whitehall, and I thought the King was dead ; but, going there I found the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London had a meeting, to determine the form of prayer for the King’s recovery. There was no display of feeling on the part of the most reverend prelates ; but they went through their work in a business-like manner.

June 18.—The poor King worse ! The inmates of Windsor Castle were in the galleries the greater part of last night, inquiring the latest news of their master, buoyed up by vain hopes, or depressed by unreasonable fears.

At Church to-day our clergyman gave us the beginning of the Song of Simeon for a text, “Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace.” I doubt whether the reverend gentleman meant this maliciously, but I do not recollect anything more pointed since the famous text on the death of Queen Anne.¹

¹ The incident alluded to is, no doubt, that mentioned by Lord Macaulay in his “History of England,” but the reference is to Queen Mary, and not to her sister, Queen Anne.

“The most estimable Jacobites respected the sorrow of William and the memory of Mary. But to the fiercer zealots of the party neither the house of mourning nor the grave was sacred. . . . It has often been repeated, and is not at all improbable, that a nonjuring divine, in the midst of the general lamentation, preached to the text, ‘Go, see now this cursed woman and bury her ; for she is a king’s daughter.’”

1837. FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

June 20.—The King died at twelve minutes past two this morning. About half-past eleven a Cabinet box came, containing the physicians' bulletin of the King's death, and a summons to Kensington Palace. Arriving at the Palace, I was shown into the ante-chamber of the music-room. It was full of Privy Councillors, standing round the long table, set in order, as it seemed, for a Council. There were nearly ninety Privy Councillors present—so I was told.

After a little time, Lord Lansdowne, advancing to the table, addressed the Lords and others of the Council, and informed them of the death of William IV.; and reminded them that it was their duty to inform Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, of that event, and of her accession to the throne. He added that he, accompanied by those who might choose to assist him, would wait on Her Majesty. Accordingly, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Melbourne, then the Duke of Cumberland (now King of Hanover), then the Duke of Sussex, together with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Lord Chancellor, withdrew through the folding-doors behind the chair, and saw the Queen. She was alone; but Lord Lansdowne told me that, as they entered the apartment, they saw a lady retiring into the back apartment. Lord Lansdowne returned, and informed the Council he had seen the Queen, and informed Her Majesty of the death of King William, and of her accession.

Not long afterwards the door was thrown open ; 1837.
the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex advanced to receive Her Majesty, and the young creature walked in and took her seat in the arm-chair. She was very plainly dressed in mourning, a black scarf round her neck, without any cap or ornament on her head ; but her hair was braided tastily on top of her head. She inclined herself gracefully on taking her seat.

Soon after she was seated Lord Melbourne stepped forward, and presented her with a paper, from which she read her Declaration. She went through this difficult task with the utmost grace and propriety ; neither too timid nor too assured. Her voice was rather subdued, but not faltering, pronouncing all the words clearly, and seeming to feel the sense of what she spoke. Every one appeared touched with her manner, particularly the Duke of Wellington and Lord Melbourne. I saw some tears in the eyes of the latter. The only person who was rather more curious than affected was Lord Lyndhurst, who looked over Her Majesty's right shoulder as she was reading, as if to see that she read all that was set down for her.

After reading the Declaration, Her Majesty took the usual oath, which was administered to her by Mr. Charles Greville, Clerk of the Council, who, by the way, let the Prayer-book drop. The Queen then subscribed the oath, and a duplicate of it for Scotland. She was designated, in the

1837. beginning of the oath, "Alexandrina Victoria," but she signed herself "Victoria R."

Her handwriting was good. Several of the Council, Lord Lyndhurst, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Wellington, came to the table to look at the signature, as if to discover what her accomplishments in that department were. Some formal orders in Council were made, and proclamations signed by the Queen, who addressed Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne, with smiles, several times, and with much cordiality.

The next part of the ceremony was swearing in the new Privy Council. The Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex first took the oath, and kissed the hand of the Queen. She saluted them affectionately on the cheek. The swearing in the Privy Councillors lasted half an hour, at least. Some of us then sat down at the Council-table; and the Queen then said, "I name and appoint Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord President of my most honourable Privy Council." During this time the doors of the room were opened frequently, and many persons admitted to see the young Queen, who continued sitting quietly at the head of the table, giving her approval in the usual form to several Orders in Council.

I went at two o'clock to the Cabinet Ministers of William IV., assembled in Downing Street; all were present, except Lord Holland. I then learnt that Lord Melbourne had been summoned to attend the Queen at nine o'clock in the morning,

and that he had written the Declaration which Her Majesty had read, on taking her seat at the head of the Council-table. Only one word had been altered in that Declaration; it was the epithet immediately preceding "reliance," which was altered into "FIRM reliance," by Lord Palmerston. Russell told me he thought the alteration had not been an improvement; and Lord John added, "but Melbourne always gives up his opinion in these matters, and, when he asks advice, takes it." 1837.

Lord Melbourne now communicated to us the Queen's pleasure that she desired no change should take place in the Cabinet. Russell appeared to me much affected by the death of King William, and I thought there was more gloom on the faces of all than might have been expected, not only amongst ourselves, but generally.

The proclamation of the Queen's accession took place at St. James's Palace on June 21. Her Majesty was presented to the people at the window facing Marlborough House. Lord Melbourne, and Lansdowne, and Duncannon, with Spring Rice, in court dresses, were at her side, with certain great officers of state behind her. The Duchess of Kent was near her, on her right. The crowd was very great, but composed of decently dressed people, and gave Her Majesty a warm reception.

I went to St. James's Palace at twelve o'clock, and found the Queen holding a Council in the Throne-room. She was dressed much as she had

1837. been the day before, except that she wore a black straw hat and feathers. Several Orders in Council were read, and the Queen gave the usual approval, with her soft voice and her pleasing smile.

Lord Melbourne and one or two others were then called into the Royal closet and received by Her Majesty alone. Lord Lansdowne told me that the Queen had remarked to him, she knew she ought to receive her Ministers unaccompanied by any lady.

FROM DIARY.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the Queen's demeanour and conduct. They deserve all that has been said of them by all parties, and must have been the offspring, not of art, nor of education, but of a noble nature, to use the words of the well-turned eulogy pronounced upon them by Sir Robert Peel.

June 22.—I went to the House of Commons. Most of the members were in deep mourning. Lord John Russell appeared at the Bar with the Queen's message. Every one uncovered as he brought it up, except Sir James Graham, who did not take off his hat until the Speaker twice requested members to be uncovered. He was right in point of form, because the correct usage is for all members to uncover together, when the Speaker reads the King's title, and not till then; but he was foolish in not doing as others did, as he drew

down some censures which his explanation of next day did not remove. 1837

Lord John Russell moved the address of condolence and congratulation in a long speech: a laboured eulogy on the late King. Some of what he said was true and interesting, as containing an account of H.M.'s last days, but I do not think the whole performance happy. Peel, who was ill from sciatica and leaning on a crutch, made a much better and shorter speech.

June 23.—Lord Tavistock showed me this day a very kind letter from the Queen to Lady Tavistock asking her to be one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber. She has consented. Lord Lansdowne told me he was convinced the Queen was resolved to stand by the Whigs.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

At the Cabinet on Saturday, June 24, we considered in what way we might obviate the necessity of the Queen's receiving the Recorder's Report. The Recorder was decidedly opposed to doing away with this ancient usage. Lord Melbourne remarked that, from what he had seen of the young Queen, he did not think she would hesitate to sign a death-warrant when the culprit deserved death.

Tuesday, June 27, I went to Kensington Palace. All the Privy Councillors, who were Members of Parliament, were there, except Sir Robert Peel, who was absent from illness. When we went

1837. into the inner room we found the Queen standing, with the Marchioness of Lansdowne behind her.

The Queen wore the ribbon of the Garter. Lord John Russell read the Address of condolence and congratulation; and, bending his knee, put it into the Queen's hand. She bent her head, received it, and put it into the hand of Lord Melbourne, who put into H.M.'s hand the answer, which she read, and gave to Lord John Russell. The Queen read the answers very well, and received our bows and homage with dignified courtesy.

FROM DIARY.

June 29.—Dined with our Stanley. Lady Seymour there, exquisitely beautiful certainly, but I preferred a quiet Mrs. Edward Villiers, whom I once recollect as a Miss Liddell.

Charles Buller was there. A little girl, Stanley's daughter,¹ not seven years old, said to him, "You are always joking. I do not ever know whether what you say is true." This is quite the character of the man. The child is right.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

Saturday, July 8, was the day fixed for the funeral of the late King; accordingly I went to the house of my good friend, Recorder Richards, at Datchet. I drove to Windsor at half-past seven, and was shown into St. George's Hall,

¹ Afterwards Lady Airlie.

where I found a crowd of Peers, Privy Councillors, Judges, Bishops, Officers of the Army and Navy, Equerries, Heralds, and other court servants. All were dressed in deep mourning, with scarfs and weepers, and I soon procured similar apparel. 1837.

There was a great bustle, and hurrying, and pushing ; but, after a little time, we were ordered to form the procession, the heralds calling out to the different classes where to go and where to place themselves.

I went among the Privy Councillors ; Poulett Thompson and Lord John Russell were immediately before me ; Sir Robert Adair with me ; Sir Stratford Canning and Sir George Murray immediately behind. Sir S. Canning and myself remarked how great the odds were, when Adair, he, and I were at Constantinople in 1810, against us three meeting again under such circumstances. We marched on two by two ; but the procession was stopped in consequence of some Peers having got into a wrong place. We marched slowly, along galleries constructed for the occasion, which seemed endless ; and the procession passed between rows of the Household Troops, both Horse-Guards and Foot-Guards, every third or fourth man of whom held a large wax flambeau. The spectacle was very gorgeous, but not the least affecting, not even when we came in St. George's Chapel, and the Royal coffin was brought in, with eight Dukes supporting the pall. The Duke of Wellington was at the right-hand corner of the coffin. I

1837. certainly did not see a tear in any eye, not even in Sir Herbert Taylor's. The Duke of Sussex was chief mourner, and sat, with his black skull-cap on, immediately behind the coffin; Prince George of Cambridge was immediately behind the chief mourner. Russell, and P. Thompson, and Spring Rice, and myself, were in the stalls, on the floor of the chapel, a little behind the coffin. Queen Adelaide was in a projecting window, overlooking the aisle—so we were told; but she was not visible. The singing was, of course, good, but much too long. The coffin was lowered into the vault by a windlass; and, after the anthem, the style and title of King William were read, and the clergyman said, "God save Queen Victoria!" I then heard, but did not see, the breaking of the official staves, which ended the ceremony about twelve o'clock at night. I retired through the ranks of soldiers, whose arms had been reversed, but were now shouldered. The Adjutant-General told me there were about 2,800 under arms.

I returned to Datchet, and found the chief mourner, the Duke of Sussex, at the house of Mr. Richards. During the supper the Duke criticised the conductors of the ceremony, and the officiating clergyman, very severely, and very justly. He showed no signs of grief; but he praised the late King much, and said he was a good and a kind man, meaning to do what was right. He added that the King was an ignorant

man, but had a good memory. The Duke said 1837.
that his brother's political principles were much inclined to Toryism, during the whole of his life, except on the Catholic question. The Duke told us that he had written to Queen Adelaide an apology for not calling on her; and I may as well mention that what affected me more than any part of the pageant was the sight of her travelling-carriage, packed for her departure, in the courtyard of the Castle, where she had been so short a time ago the reigning sovereign. She departed, after the funeral, for Bushey. The Duke of Sussex told us that he had asked the young Queen how she liked her new office. Her Majesty replied, "Very much."

I got home about four o'clock in the morning. So ended the funeral of King William IV.—a tiresome pageant.

On Wednesday, July 12, I went to St. James's Palace, where Her Majesty, for the first time, sat on the throne, and received congratulatory Addresses from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and from the Court of Common Council. Close to her, on her right, was the Duchess of Sutherland, Mistress of the Robes, and next to her stood the Marchioness of Tavistock; on her left, a step below the throne, stood the Duchess of Kent, with a lady-in-waiting on H.R.H.

I happened to be next to the Duchess of Kent, and saw she was much affected when the Addresses were read, in which her maternal care was extolled.

1837. The kissing hands of crippled aldermen and other civic functionaries lasted so long that Lord Lansdowne and some others tried to interfere, but the Queen bore their tedious homage with great good-humour.

Her Majesty afterwards held a Council, at which certain Privy Councillors and a great many Lord-Lieutenants of Counties took the oaths; also the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Duke of Wellington, as Constable of the Tower. There was a good deal of confusion during this part of the ceremony, and the Queen could scarcely help smiling more than once; but, on the whole, she received the homage of warriors and statesmen and churchmen with a dignified composure worthy of her great station. It was peculiarly gratifying to see her manner with the Duke of Wellington, and the contrast between majestic female youth and heroic manly age was exceedingly striking.

July 14.—In answer to a note from Her Majesty I went to Buckingham Palace. The apartments were in great disorder; housemaids were on their knees scrubbing the floors, and servants laying down carpets.

After waiting a little time, with a page, the door opened, and the Queen walked in, smiling and curtsying. She placed herself on a sofa, on one side of a small table, and desired me to take a chair opposite to her. She told me that she had read Lord Elphinstone's letter, but had not

had time to read Lord Auckland's. She added 1837.
that Lord Elphinstone's was an interesting letter, and that he was very young for so important a command. I smiled, and observed that "youth was no disqualification for empire," at which H.M. laughed and looked pleased. She remarked upon the conduct of Sir Peregrine Maitland, in refusing to allow the regimental bands to attend the Hindoo ceremonies. She said she agreed with me in thinking it imprudent, and that the zeal of some persons to propagate Christianity often defeated its own object. I observed that Sir Peregrine Maitland was what was called a "serious" man. "Yes," replied H.M., "and his wife too, who is a sister of the Duke of Richmond, is serious also." She told me she approved of Lord Elphinstone's caution in that respect, and desired me to tell him so; and she graciously acceded to my request to convey her thanks, on her accession to the Throne, to Lord Auckland for his general conduct.

I asked H.M. if she had read Burnes's travels.¹ She replied she had not, but she had seen and spoken to him, and would read his book. After a little more conversation, I requested H.M.'s permission to communicate with her on Indian affairs, and send her any news with which I

¹ Alexander Burnes's "Journey to and Residence in Cabool" and "Travels in Bokhara 1831-3." Burnes was sent as special envoy to Dost Mahomed in 1836, and was knighted in 1839. In 1841 he was murdered in the massacre at Kabul, which gave rise to the Afghan War of 1842.

1837. thought she would be interested, or ought to be acquainted. To this she assented very graciously, and I rose and withdrew.

I cannot refrain from saying that I received a most pleasing impression from her manner and her remarks, as being superior to her age, and even to her station; at least, such Royalties as I have seen. I heard afterwards from Colonel Cavendish that Her Majesty had told Madame Lehzen, her late governess, that she had had a very interesting and instructive conversation with me. I cannot say I gave her much instruction. My principal information related to the three functionaries at the head of the Indian presidencies, with each of whom I was well acquainted, and entitled to speak of him.

From the Palace I went to a Cabinet. We discussed the Queen's Speech, and adopted Lord Melbourne's draft, with scarcely a word of alteration. Some of us had wished to have a more pointed allusion to the measures which the Lords had mutilated, or altogether put aside. I ventured to remark that whatever we put in the young Queen's mouth would be so manifestly our own sentiments, irrespective of her opinion, that we should gain nothing by saying strong things in this Her Majesty's first Speech to Parliament. Lord Melbourne nodded, and said, "Very true."

July 14.—At St. James's, on this day, the Queen received the Addresses of the two Universities.

The Oxford deputation was headed by the Duke of Wellington; the Cambridge by Marquess Camden. The former, scarcely to be recognised in his academical robes, with spectacles on his nose, read his Address very well. The other Chancellor hobbled wretchedly. The Oxford Address was much the best of the two. The Cambridge Address alluded to Queen Elizabeth as founder of our Protestant Establishment, and held her up as a model for our present Sovereign. 1837.

Some fifty Doctors of Divinity, Heads of Houses, Professors, etc., were presented to the Queen, and kissed hands; and it was remarked that not one name was familiar to Europe, nor to scientific England—no, not one!

The Cambridge deputation behaved most indecorously; they crowded the Throne-room in every part, and many of them leaped up repeatedly to get a glimpse of the Queen. They would not leave the Presence-chamber until actually pushed out by the Guards. Even the good-natured young Queen and the Duchess of Kent seemed displeased. The heat and the noise were very oppressive.

Afterwards the Queen held a Chapter of the Garter, and invested the Prince of Leiningen. I had never seen the ceremony before, and stayed, with some other Ministers, to look at it. The Knights sat at a table, with the Queen at the top, Mr. Bathurst read the oath. The Prince knelt,

1837. the Duke of Sussex put on the ribbon and the garter, the Queen helping to buckle it. After this, the Prince shook hands with the Knights and the Duchess of Kent. The Herald called on the Knights one by one; each of them rose, bowed to the Queen, and withdrew. The Queen then retired, and the ceremony ended.

In the evening of the day I dined with Mrs. Otway Cave, and met two celebrities: Lady Becher¹ and Lady Morgan.² I sat next to the first of these ladies, and could hardly believe that she was the actress who had affected me so much in former years. Lady Morgan was not near enough to enable me to remark anything peculiar in her manner. I thought her not at all handsome; but I saw that she was not a little proud of a well-turned arm.

FROM DIARY.

July 15.—A Council at Buckingham Palace. The Queen again forgot to desire her great officers of the Household to sit down, and when Lord Melbourne hinted it to her, told them to be seated, but blushed very much. She, however, soon recovered herself.

¹ The celebrated Miss O'Neill, who first made her mark on the Dublin stage in Shakespeare's plays, and came to London in 1815. She married Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Becher, M.P., in 1819.

² Sydney Owenson, who married Sir Thomas Morgan in 1812, was the author of several patriotic Irish novels, and in 1817 published a work on France which met with considerable success. She was conspicuous in London society almost to the time of her death in 1859.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1837.

July 17.—I went to the House of Commons, and saw the Queen come down to prorogue the Parliament. The day was fine, the crowd was great, and the whole spectacle very beautiful. I thought the equipages more gay, the attendants and all the accompaniments of the procession, horses, pages, and people, more brilliant, than I had ever seen them before. The Queen appeared much pleased with the reception she met with. Wherever her eyes turned she saw signs, unmistakable, of love and loyalty. She looked exceedingly well in her glass-coach, and she bowed repeatedly to the vast crowd that accompanied her, and to those who, from every roof and window, were cheering and waving handkerchiefs as she passed slowly along. When the arrival of Her Majesty was announced to us, I went with the Speaker to the House of Lords; but was so much squeezed and pressed on every side that I could not get near the Speaker. I just caught a glimpse of Her Majesty on the throne, and thought she became her crown and sceptre very much.

Her Majesty read her Speech in a very pleasing and very sensible tone of voice. Every one seemed charmed with her address and mode of delivery; and the Speech was approved, so far as I could learn, by every one. The House was filled with ladies, and Lord Willoughby told me that, except in one instance, he had issued orders for admission only to Peeresses.

1837. At four o'clock the Council met at Buckingham Palace, and the Queen signed the Proclamation for dissolving the present Parliament and calling a new one. Her Majesty looked at one time a little pale, and flushed at another, and rather fatigued, as the young creature well might be!

On Wednesday, July 19, Her Majesty held a Levee—the first of her reign. It was much crowded. Three thousand persons were present, and of these the greater number kissed the Queen's hand. She went through the formalities of the tedious day with her accustomed grace and dignity.

I dined the same day with the Queen at Buckingham Palace; it was her first large dinner. The Queen was handed to the table by General Sebastiani, the French Ambassador. On her right hand sat Count Orloff, the Russian Ambassador, on a mission of congratulation. The Duchess of Kent was next to him; Lady Lansdowne was next to Sebastiani; the Prince of Leiningen sat opposite to the Queen. Lord Palmerston did not come in until we were seated. Lord Minto and Lord Glenelg were the other Cabinet Ministers present. The Duke of Argyll sat at one end of the table, and Colonel Cavendish, Clerk-Marshal, at the other. There were about twenty-eight guests in all. The Duchess of Kent was near the Queen. I could not help remarking the ease with which the young Sovereign accommodated herself to her altered position. The last time I dined in her

company was at Kensington Palace, where she was her mother's guest, and behaved accordingly; here, her mother was her guest, and her manner suited the occasion. 1837.

Her Majesty did not speak to any one, except to the Ambassadors next to her, and occasionally the Prince of Leiningen, and her mother; also to the Duke of Wellington, to whom she, as well as her mother, was very attentive. He sat next to the Queen at the tea-table in the drawing-room, and continued a long time in easy conversation with her. Lord Grey and his daughter, Lady Georgina, were present; the former looking very awful and severe. When the Queen rose to leave the room she came to me and spoke about the letters which I had left with Her Majesty. She was very courteous, and most pleasing; and such, let me add, I have always found her.

August 10.—I find, from the results of the General Election, that we shall lose six seats at least; but against this loss we have got rid of many tiresome men on both sides of the House.

Lord Melbourne, in talking of our losses, evinced no despondency, but remarked that the Church had been too much for us. That was true, and I might have remarked that the Dissenters had been too little for us; for we received but very lukewarm support from that capricious body.

I again stood for Nottingham, and gained the election easily.

August 11.—I called on Lord Palmerston, and

1837. heard from him some singular details of people much in the confidence of some of the Royal Family, which convinced me that Her Majesty had been most fortunate in the choice of her Prime Minister. I did not believe there was another man in the country who could have extricated Her Majesty from the difficulties in which the indiscretions of others had involved her. Thus it was that, in after-days, I was never surprised at the strong regard and personal confidence with which Her Majesty honoured this most fascinating man.

Of course these unmistakable marks of preference did not escape the notice of those courtiers, or rather politicians, who were eclipsed by them; and I recollect hearing, at the time, that when some one objected to an apartment being always kept engaged for Lord Melbourne at Windsor Castle, the Duke of Wellington, who always had, from her birth, a fatherly affection for the Queen, exclaimed, "By G—! it is all right, and, if I was Lord Melbourne, I would seldom be out of the way."

On Thursday, August 17, I dined at Buckingham Palace, to celebrate the Duchess of Kent's birthday. Of the Ministers there were Lords Melbourne, Glenelg, and Palmerston, besides Spring Rice and myself.

When the Queen retired the Duke of Sussex, good man, began to be obstreperous. We had had two healths before—the Queen and the Duchess

of Kent; but the Duke would give other healths, and, amongst them, gave "the People of Ireland," and he asked Palmerston whether he did not think them good fellows. Lord Palmerston replied, "They have done their duty now." The Duke then gave "the People of India," and addressed me in a few words, which made Lord Melbourne burst out into one of his most joyous laughs. 1837.

When we went into the drawing-room we found preparations for a concert; all the great performers there: Grisi, Albertazzi, and Lablache. On my complimenting the Duchess on her birthday, she said, "Ah, I am too old for many happy returns." The Queen was kept standing for more than half an hour, as the Duke and Duchess of Oldenburgh did not come in time. Her Majesty bore the tiresome delay with the utmost good-humour. At last the Duke and Duchess came, and the Queen saluted the Duchess very graciously, as did the Duchess of Kent.

All the Cabinet Ministers in London, and some of the Officers of State, dined the following day with the Duke of Sussex at Kensington Palace, in order to meet the Duke and Duchess of Oldenburgh. The Duchess, a daughter of the dethroned King of Sweden, seemed a very pleasing personage, much younger than her husband, a dull, good-humoured man. We had a merry day, with much health-drinking and speechifying.

The day after this dinner I went to Erle Stoke, accompanied by my brother, the M.P. for Roches-

1837. ter. I found my children well; the country was looking beautiful, and the repose, after the toil and turmoil of London, was enchanting.

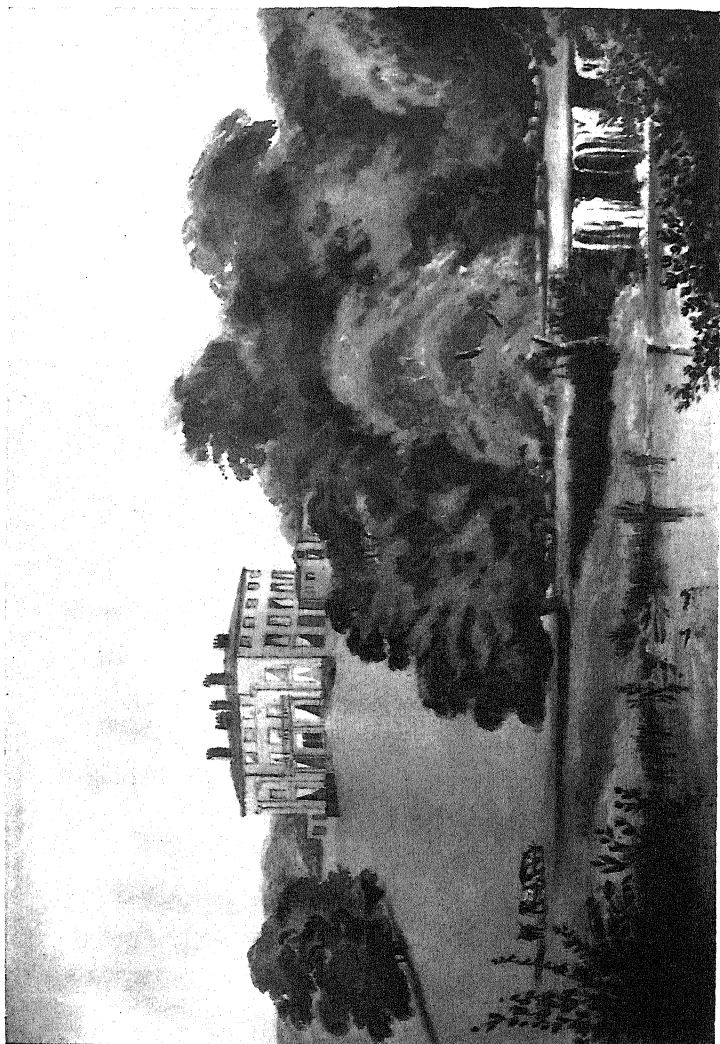
FROM DIARY.

September 5.—I have just read Macaulay's Essay on Basil Montagu's "Bacon," a very powerful performance, but abounding in the usual faults of the author. He gives his reader no repose for a moment, but knocks at him right and left like the boxer in Virgil, *nec mora nec requies*. However, there is not a man in the world except Macaulay who could write it, to say nothing of his Indian occupations: *a criminal code* for all India.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

I stayed at Erle Stoke until September 11, when I went on a visit to Her Majesty at Windsor Castle. I found Lord Melbourne, Palmerston, and Glenelg there, besides Lord Tavistock, the Marquis Conyngham (Lord Chamberlain), Lord Lilford (Lord of the Bedchamber), and the Honourable Charles Murray (Equerry-in-waiting). These, with two maids of honour, were at the dinner-table. The guests at the Castle were the King and the Queen of the Belgians, with their attendants, and, amongst them, my friend Van de Weyer. The Duchess of Kent, with her attendants, was also there.

Lord Melbourne always sat next to Her Majesty, and it was most gratifying to observe



EARLE STOKE PARK.

Leased for twenty-one years by Lord Broughton from Simon Watson Taylor, Esq.

From a water-colour by Lord Henry Percy, V.C., 1860.

her demeanour with him; it was that of a child 1837.
to a parent. He was easy, but respectful, and
behaved as became himself and his Sovereign.
After dinner we drank the health of the King of
the Belgians, the Queen of the Belgians, and of
our Queen.

The Queen of the Belgians was a very fair-haired, blue-eyed, aquiline-nosed Princess; young enough, in appearance, to be Leopold's daughter. Leopold had the same serious, sombre look as in his younger days. He was particularly attentive to me during my visit to the Castle, probably from having heard from Van de Weyer of the interest I had taken in the success of the Belgian revolution, and in his election to the throne. After dinner His Majesty took me aside, and talked to me of the state of affairs in his own kingdom. . . . He was interrupted by the Queen, who ran up to him, and carried him away to play at cards. I looked on, standing; but the Queen insisted on my sitting down, and, as I still hesitated, said to Lady Tavistock, who reported it to me, "Sir John Hobhouse will not do as I bid him; he will not take a chair." Of course I sat down immediately.

I had a pleasant talk with Madame Lehzen, called the Baroness, late governess of Her Majesty. She kept up a lively fire upon Lord Glenelg, accusing him, half in fun, of being too lazy. That character did attach to Glenelg, but unjustly; he was not lazy; he was too scrupulous

1837. and critical as to what he wrote ; and his cousin, my friend Dr. Chambers, told me that he would get up early on a winter morning, light his own fire, and sit down to write a despatch. The evening passed very pleasantly, and, before retiring, Lady Tavistock told me she had received the Queen's commands to invite me to breakfast with her ladies at ten o'clock—a favour which, in those days, was confined to Privy Councillors. Accordingly, the next day I breakfasted with the Queen's ladies.

At half-past three the Queen, and Queen of the Belgians, accompanied by ladies, took a drive in pony phaetons. Lords Melbourne, Palmerston, Glenelg, Tavistock, and myself, together with Colonel Cavendish and Lord Alfred Paget, C. Murray and Lord Lilford, followed on horseback. I was on a hard-mouthed, high-trotting beast. We started at a canter, and the whole party went at a furious rate up the Long Walk, Lord Melbourne and the other horsemen scampering along, sometimes by the side of the Queen's carriage, sometimes behind it. H.M. and the Duchess of Kent seemed pleased with the horsemanship of Lord Alfred Paget, mounted on a fiery black steed, and smiled and laughed at his modest assurance. He was a handsome, Calmuck-looking young fellow. We poured through the glades of the forest at the same rapid pace, until we came to Virginia Water. Here the Queen alighted, and entered the Chinese Pavilion overlooking the

lake. I had never looked at the scene before, and could fancy myself on the banks of some Swiss or Tyrolese lake. The Queen and her attendants got into the state barge, with the standard of England flying on it, and were rowed to the opposite bank. Lord Melbourne was with Her Majesty; Lord Glenelg steered another barge, rowed by Charles Murray and Colonel Cavendish and Lord Lilford and Lord A. Paget. Lord Palmerston rowed himself alone in a small boat. He offered me a place in it, but I was so hot, from my high-trotting horse, that I was afraid of catching cold, and declined. 1837.

The Royal party landed at the Pavilion, and the Queen ordered the frigate to be got under way. This pretty miniature man-of-war was manned by a lieutenant and six sailors. It was some time before she was ready, although Lord A. Paget assisted the operations. H.M. got a little impatient, and sent to know when the frigate would move. Lord Alfred sent back word "in two minutes"; and, sure enough, in two minutes her sails were shaken out, her anchor weighed, and she glided very slowly away. A breeze just then sprang up, as if to please the mistress of a thousand war-ships, who was now amusing herself with a water-toy.

When opposite to the Pavilion the frigate began to salute, and fired her one-and-twenty guns with great precision. A very pretty effect was produced by the smoke, burnished by the setting

1837. sun, rolling, and running, as it were; on the surface of the lake, at each discharge of the cannon. The Queen, and her suite, and all of us, were much gratified with the spectacle. It was the first visit of Queen Victoria to Virginia Water.

The dinner at the Castle this day passed off agreeably, and, when in the drawing-room, the Queen sat down to chess with the Queen of the Belgians. H.M. had never played before; Lord Melbourne told her how to move, and Lord Palmerston also assisted her. I looked on for some time, without taking part in the game, and I might as well have abstained altogether; for, when Melbourne and Palmerston gave up advising Her Majesty, in order that I might succeed to them, I did not succeed better than my colleagues. I was very near winning the game, when I lost it by an oversight, and by being very often asked by Her Majesty, "What must I do?" There was also some little confusion created by the two queens on the board and the two Queens at the table. Her Majesty was not so discouraged by her defeat as to prevent her playing again the evening after this. Who played for the Queen I do not know; but H.M. ran up to me laughing, and saying she had won. She asked me how she came to lose yesterday. I replied, "Because your Majesty had such bad advisers," on which she laughed heartily, and so did the Queen of the Belgians, who, by the way, spoke English well.

Thus ended my visit to the Queen, for the next morning I left the Castle early, and returned to Erle Stoke. 1837.

FROM DIARY.

September 13.—Lord Tavistock told me that King William had taken away the Duke of Bedford's bust from the Windsor gallery because the Duke had subscribed to O'Connell; but the young Queen replaced it immediately on arriving at Windsor. Indeed, from all I can learn there is no doubt of her attachments *at present* being for our friends; but she is a young creature and a Queen, and who shall answer for her future conduct?

Lord Melbourne praised her very much to me, and said that it was exceedingly satisfactory to transact business with her. I hear the Duchess of Kent is better inclined to us than she was, and bears Sir John Conroy's exclusion from Court with due resignation. The part taken by Lord Melbourne in the squabble between Madame the Baroness Lehzen and Sir J. Conroy has been exceedingly agreeable to the Queen.

October 14.—Lord Lansdowne came over the other day to ask me to meet Lords Melbourne and John Russell at Bowood; so I drove over there, and took Methuen.

I went over the gardens and grounds, to the cascade which I formerly thought so magnificent. The lake is certainly a fine piece of water, about

1837. forty-two acres, I hear ; but the shrubberies and pleasure-grounds are dark and dull, and the general air of the place is sombre.

Methuen told me that Bowood was offered to his grandfather before he bought Corsham ; it was about 1,400 acres of marshy ground. Lord Shelburne purchased it, employed Brown to form the water and plant the woods and build the mansion ; and Mr. Methuen bought Corsham, then a small place ; he also employed Brown, and thus, in a small space of time, two of the principal places in Wiltshire have been made and hunted over by the Lord-Lieutenant ; and the other, until lately, by a county member.

There was a small party at dinner. Lady Lansdowne looked far from recovered from her recent calamities ; and Lady Louisa so ill as to threaten another loss. Even worthy Lord Shelburne seemed of very delicate health, and still the worse for his blow at Methuen's nomination. Lord Lansdowne, as usual, unperturbed by past, present, or future evils, placid and pleasing to all.

Lord Melbourne, who had been to hear his own Bishop Denison confirm at Bremhill said, "He is a Bishop, every inch of him."

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

November 7.—Returned to London, and in the evening dined at the Palace. I thought the Duchess of Kent looked out of spirits. Not so Her Majesty ; she was very lively, and most

pleasing to everybody. In the drawing-room she spoke for some time to me about Indian news, and laughed a good deal at my having sent her a Cabinet-box unlocked—a very stupid neglect, certainly. 1837.

Lord Howick and I had a good deal of conversation with Baroness Lehzen, who told us that the Queen always wished her to be near her at state ceremonies, but that she preferred being at home to receive Her Majesty when they were over, in order that she might assist in taking care of the Queen's health. The Baroness mentioned that the Queen never read her speeches to any one aloud, except to her; and she then said that, if she could read it aloud to one person, she could read it to any number. Madame Lehzen added that she did not go to hear the Queen read the Addresses, being afraid that H.M. might hesitate, if she looked at her. So said this good lady; but I confess I did not think the Queen a person likely to tremble, even at her governess.

November 8.—I heard this day that there had been some difficulty as to the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, and Rice told me he had heard from Lord Spencer, advising him to be cautious how they were interfered with, as an imprudence in that respect might alienate the Court, and change the course of events during the whole reign. "How strange," said Rice, "that Althorp should preach prudence to me!" And strange it would seem to Rice; but the prudence of the one

1837. differed very much from the prudence of the other. Rice was cautious from timidity; Althorp, from a knowledge of the danger, and a courageous disregard of the imputation of being afraid.

November 9.—Her Majesty attended a dinner at the Guildhall. The multitude was very great, both in the streets and in the windows and roofs of houses; and the streets looked very imposing. The charity children, and the schools, and the different Companies of the Corporation, placed in wooden galleries, decorated with coloured cloth, round the railings of St. Paul's, produced a very pleasing effect.

When the Queen entered the Council-chamber she was addressed very pompously by Recorder Law. H.M. read a short answer, put into her hands by Lord John Russell; and then she told the Lord Mayor, when he had kissed hands, that she had ordered a patent of baronetcy to be made out for him, and she knighted the two Sheriffs.

H.M. then retired with the Duchess of Kent, and the Princesses, and her ladies; and shortly afterwards we went into the Hall and seated ourselves at the table assigned to us. The city etiquette studiously avoids distinguishing official rank; at least, it did so on this occasion.

I found myself next to Sir Henry Hardinge, who talked very agreeably, and before we parted he said two or three things that showed he did not despair of the party to which he belonged. He informed me also that Peel, who was in Paris, was

in strong health ; and that the Duke of Wellington was able to hunt all day, and ride from fifteen to twenty miles to cover and back. 1837.

I was too far from the Queen to see how she received the applause with which her health was drunk ; but the newspapers said that she was much pleased, and rose and curtsied repeatedly. H.M. rose from the table, and left the hall about half-past eight, amidst thunders of applause.

I did not get home till half-past eleven, having been thus ten hours assisting, as the French call it, at this ceremony. The streets looked as full as they had been during the day, with carriages of every description, and the illuminations were very brilliant through all the streets from Guildhall to St. James's.

From what I heard, I should not say there was much political feeling displayed on either side. The Duke of Wellington was cheered passing the Carlton Club-house, and Lord Melbourne was occasionally applauded ; but even the *Morning Post* confessed that the Duke was not welcomed so much as might have been anticipated. The Queen, however, was so well received as almost to raise the indignation of the then Tory *Times*, which complained that a young woman who had done no one good thing for the nation, should receive the reward due to a long life of loyal patriotism.

The affairs of Lower Canada now engaged the attention of the Home Government, and caused great anxiety. Lord Gosford, the Governor, had

1837. sent for more troops, and dismissed thirty-six magistrates and militia officers, for outrageous conduct at public meetings ; Papineau was one of them. Being asked, by order of Lord Gosford, whether he had used certain expressions imputed to him, he refused to reply, and said the question was impertinent. We had now to decide who was to succeed Lord Gosford. Lord Melbourne said that now was the time to disprove the accusation of the advocates of despotism, that our Constitutional Governments did very well for fair weather and peaceable times, but would not work well in days of difficulty and war. If a man could be found fit to be trusted with complete discretion, he (Lord Melbourne) would give it him ; and, perhaps, Lord Durham might be persuaded to accept the charge, and, under such conditions, might act with boldness as well as prudence.

November 14.—At a Cabinet to-day we discussed what provision ought to be made for the Duchess of Kent. We agreed that Lord Melbourne should make her a distinct offer of £30,000, and should recommend Government to pay her debts. Lord Holland thought the sum rather small, and I was disposed to agree with him. The Princess-Dowager of Wales, mother of George III., had £60,000 a year. But Russell said, “God knows how many Dowagers we may have ! ”

I dined this day with the Queen. In the drawing-room I took the opportunity to speak to Her Majesty about the fatigues of the City

procession and dinner, which she said she had borne very well. I said I was afraid she might have been annoyed by going to a play the night after the dinner and on Friday night also. "Oh," said H.M., "not at all; I like a play very much." The young creature spoke like an emancipated school-girl, without, however, forgetting her great station. 1837.

At a Cabinet held at Lord Melbourne's private house, on Sunday, November 19, Lord Melbourne read to us a letter from the Duchess of Kent, in which she formally declined the offer of paying her debts by a parliamentary vote, and said little or nothing of the proposal to give her £30,000 a year for personal income. Indeed, she talked of the income and the rank to be assigned to her as matters quite unsettled, by which we understood that she wished to be given the precedence and rank of a Queen-mother. She remarked that, since the days of Henry VII., no one had been in her situation. On this point Lord Melbourne told us that it was not the Queen's wish to give her mother a rank that would put her mother above her aunts. "It would," said the Queen, "do my mother no good, and would offend my aunts."

It was agreed that Lord Melbourne should write a letter to the Duchess, setting her right in regard to some of her statements, and repeating that the Queen had no money out of which she could pay her mother's debts, adding that the Ministers did

1837. not stand in the way of the Queen paying the debts of the Duchess, which in H.R.H.'s last letter had been reasserted. Lord Melbourne told us that he had informed the Queen there were differences in the Cabinet as to the mode of paying these debts; on which Her Majesty said, "I hope there is no difference of opinion as to whether I am to pay them or not."

On Monday, November 20, the Queen opened the new Parliament in person. Her Majesty was rapturously received by an immense concourse of people. I thought the cheering and the waving of handkerchiefs and hats would never end. I did not choose to accompany the Speaker to the House of Lords, as the crowd and crush of members were greater than I liked to encounter. Our friend Ward was pushed against a pillar, and his shoulder was dislocated. I heard the Queen spoke the Speech exceedingly well.

November 22.—I went to Buckingham Palace to attend the Speaker with our Address. After waiting a short time in the antechamber, the doors were thrown open, and we walked in. The Queen was on the Throne, and looked really very beautiful; although two fine women, the Duchess of Sutherland and Lady Barham, were standing next to her. She had a fine bust, lighted up by the freshness of early youth. Russell handed to H.M. her short answer to us, which, as usual, she read very distinctly.

November 28.—At our Cabinet to-day we had a

discussion about giving the liberty of the press to the island of Malta; and, in spite of the before-recorded opinion of the Duke of Wellington, agreed to do it.

December 1.—Lord John Russell introduced his Irish Poor Law, the same as that of last year. The principal merit of his speech was, that it did not make the measure of too much importance.

December 2.—After a long afternoon at the India Board, I dined this day at the Palace, but had great difficulty in getting there, on account of the dense fog which beset this part of the metropolis. The Queen sat down to dinner before my arrival. I explained the cause of my delay, and H.M. received my excuses with great condescension, smiling and bowing to me several times—hardly worth mentioning, except as showing her natural disposition. Lord Melbourne, as usual, was at her left hand, next to her, and kept up a conversation which seemed to amuse her, for she often laughed.

The women were more numerous than the men. I was seated between a very beautiful young woman, Mrs. Charles Grey, and a very pleasing person, Miss Davis of the Bedchamber, and passed a pleasant time of it, until Her Majesty went into the drawing-room.

When the men joined the ladies, H.M. came up to me, and spoke to me about the company. She afterwards sent Lord Byron to me, and desired me to play at whist with the Duchess of Kent.

1837 I did so; and Lord John Russell and Lord Byron played against the Duchess and myself. Sir Frederick Stovin played the hand of the Duchess, but she seemed confused. We won the rubber, and then we changed partners; Russell and I played together. The Duchess was taken ill; but, after one of her ladies had given her some salts to smell, she continued her game, and won this rubber. Russell had to pay her eight shillings, and he put down a sovereign. She gave him nine shillings, saying, "I believe that is right." He smiled, and took his change; but did not seem pleased with this specimen of Royal arithmetic. I got home by eleven o'clock; the fog was very thick, and I was accompanied by link-boys all the way.

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CHAPTER IV

FROM DIARY.

1837.

December 3.—I dined with Mr. Stanley, and sat next to Mrs. Dawson Damer, an amusing woman. Charles Buller was of the party. His Radicalism does not keep him away from good men's feasts, and our friends have evidently a wish to be well with him.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On December 4, I dined at our Raleigh Club. There was a very large party. The lions of the evening were a son of Lucien Buonaparte, and Captain Black. The Prince, as they called him, resembled Napoleon more than any one of the family that I had seen. Indeed, he was very like what the Emperor was in 1815, particularly about the mouth and cheek. He seemed a good-natured, unaffected man, and, when we drank his health, returned thanks in a few appropriate sentences.

December 7.—There has been much discussion about a petition, presented by Mr. O'Brien, complaining of Sir Francis Burdett for subscribing

1837. to the Spottiswoode Fund.¹ Burdett himself made a vigorous speech, reminding me much of his old manner, bold and unflinching, and carrying the war into the enemy's camp. He owned he had been wrong in the matter of the Middlesex subscription, and had been laughed at by Sheridan for it. He confessed that he was, at that time, smarting under the effects of two sharp contests; being obliged to live on very little, and keep only a single pair of carriage-horses. This was the weakest part of his speech, and our benches began to titter; but he dashed out again, and declared against O'Connell and his rent, and sat down amidst thunders of applause from the Tories.

O'Connell answered the charge of being a paid patriot, and said he gloried in the fact. He had made great sacrifices, and had exposed himself to every stigma, even to the insult of every old renegade!

Young Disraeli, who had announced that he would single out O'Connell for combat, then made his maiden speech, which was such an exhibition of insolence and folly as I never heard in my life before. In conclusion, he told the House,

¹ The system of deciding disputed elections was at this time most unsatisfactory. These cases were tried by Committees of the House of Commons appointed for the purpose, which were always supposed to give the verdict in accordance with the political views of the majority. After the last election 67 petitions were lodged, and a fund called the Spottiswoode Fund was instituted to promote petitions against Irish returns alleged to have been obtained by violence and intimidation.

“You shall hear me another time.” A prediction which this celebrated gentleman afterwards fully verified. 1837.

We at last divided against O'Brien, and were 331 to 121. The decided Ministerialists, the Tories, and a portion of the Liberals, voted with the majority. Thus, and thus unsatisfactorily, ended the threatened opposition to the Spottiswoode Subscription.

December 9.—In the evening of this day I dined with the Duke of Sussex at Kensington Palace. We had refused an increase of income to the Duke, who had written a very handsome letter to Lord Melbourne on the subject. He this day entertained all the Cabinet Ministers and others of the party—in all twenty-six guests—blue ribbons, and red ribbons, very fine, and not a little dull.

Sunday, December 10, I dined at Lord Melbourne's with a large party, chiefly Members of Parliament. I sat between Sheil and Sergeant Ball, and had a pleasant day. I was much pleased with Lord Melbourne's easy, but polite manner towards his guests. The rest of the evening I passed with a party at Lord Holland's, where I met Lytton Bulwer and other M.P.'s.

December 12.—In the House of Commons to-day our Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an increase of £8,000 a year to the income of the Duchess of Kent. No serious opposition was offered; Hume and Grote did object, and so, to

1837. my surprise, did Charles Wynne, and, I thought, very much to the disgust of Sir Robert Peel, who made wry faces during his speech. As we were walking away, I said to Mr. Wynne, "You are a bold man!" He replied, "I took the same course in 1818. I could not do otherwise now."

December 14.—On returning to the House, after my mutton-chop to-day, I found Palmerston replying to a "galimatias" of T. Attwood, of Birmingham, who had anticipated the arrival of eighty sail of Russian men-of-war off the coast of Norfolk, or, perhaps, at Sheerness. Palmerston spoke well, as he always does.

We have had some tiresome discussions about the Civil List. W. Harvey, as usual, was very bitter against, accusing us of doing neither one thing nor the other, and "dandling the rickety babe, Expediency." It would not be easy to carry metaphorical talk much farther than this.

December 20.—We had a Council at the Palace this day. I took the Bishop of Bombay there, and introduced him to Her Majesty. I also introduced the Bishop to Lord Melbourne and John Russell. His Right Reverence was a mild, inoffensive gentleman; but he was so little acquainted with recent events that, when he asked me which was Lord Brougham, and I told him that Lord Brougham was not there, he said, "I mean the Lord Chancellor." I replied, "That is the Lord Chancellor—Lord Cottenham." The good man looked a little surprised, but said

nothing. If Brougham knew this, his vanity 1837.
would be not a little wounded.

Leader, Molesworth, and Hume have been making most furious speeches on Canadian affairs, wishing success to the Canadians; and I heard Warburton attack the Government bitterly, and recommend the Canadians to separate from the mother-country.

On December 24 I went to Erle Stoke, and found a small family party there, with my dear children very well; but on December 31 I received letters requesting me to come to London to attend a Cabinet on Canadian affairs. A sad demolition of my poor three weeks' holiday.

On January 16, Parliament reassembled. 1838.
Lord J. Russell, in explaining our Canadian measures, said as little as possible to provoke opposition from any quarter. He concluded by mentioning that Lord Durham would be Governor-General of all the British North American provinces, and, by help of a Committee of Advice, would frame a new and Liberal Constitution for the Lower Province.

FROM DIARY.

Brougham and Melbourne, at this time, fell foul of one another in the Lords. Brougham, with a sneer, complimented Melbourne on his superior proficiency in court phraseology, because he had corrected Brougham in calling the Duchess of Kent "Queen-mother," instead of "Mother of the

1838. Queen." Melbourne retorted that, in that respect, no one knew better how to bow to power than Brougham. This brought a furious reply from Brougham, who defied Melbourne to prove his charge. As if such a charge was capable of proof, and as if Brougham's servility at Court was not notorious. I recollect very well that it was a joke amongst us that no one performed the kotow so well as our Chancellor. He bowed his very head to the Throne with more than Persian adoration. He is now trying to lead the new Reformers—the ultra-Radical Party.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

January 18.—This evening Lord Brougham made an intemperate speech against our Canadian policy in the House of Lords, and immediately afterwards left the House. This gave Lord Glenelg an opportunity of making a spirited comment on this unfair hostility, and comparing the conduct of the retired Chancellor with the noble candour of the Duke of Wellington, who had, indeed, behaved in a manner worthy of his great name and station.

Brougham, no doubt, considered he should give the death-blow to the Melbourne Administration by this effort. I heard Roebuck boasted of having Brougham in his pocket, and had said, "As we are deserted by Durham, we must trot out the old horse."

January 19.—I dined at the Palace. I handed

in, and sat next at dinner to Lady Portman— 1838.
a most beautiful creature—and much admired my neighbour. In the drawing-room the Queen spoke to me about Lord Auckland. She desired me to express her satisfaction to him, saying “India was sure to go on well under such a Governor-General.”

January 27.—At our Cabinet meeting to-day, we had read to us a most ludicrous despatch from Head,¹ giving an account of his defeat of Mackenzie’s attempt upon Toronto. Glenelg read to us also a private letter from Head, equally absurd,

¹ Sir Francis Bond Head (1793-1855), well known as author of “Rides Across the Pampas” and “Bubbles from the Brunnen of Nassau.”

“In the Upper Province the administration had at this critical moment been entrusted to Major Head, who had been almost dragged from his bed while acting as assistant poor-law commissioner, that he might be sent to govern this great colony, at one of the most important crises of its history. This modern Cincinnatus acted more like a hero of romance or a knight-errant than a sober statesman. Knowing that a revolt was impending, his first care was to send every soldier out of the province. He allowed the rebels to make all their preparations without the slightest hindrance. When at length they advanced, he summoned the Militia and the loyal inhabitants to his aid. The call was obeyed with enthusiastic unanimity; and, with the assistance thus obtained, he completely suppressed the insurrection. This spirited way of dealing with the rebellion was highly applauded by many, both at home and in the colony; but in the opinion of the Colonial Secretary the success which attended it did not atone for the imprudence of which he considered the governor had been guilty, in sending away the troops on the eve of a revolt, which might very probably have been supported by a large force of United States sympathisers, in which case the result would perhaps have been very calamitous. Further differences of opinion between Major Head and the home authorities caused him to send in his resignation, which was accepted, much to the regret of the colonists. The services he had rendered were acknowledged by his being raised to a baronetcy.”—MOLESWORTH’S *History of England*.

1838. telling how he was fired at from a pine-tree, and how a boy fired his rifle at the tree, when "down dropped a great rebel stone-dead"; yet this Head certainly saved Upper Canada, if not Lower Canada, by the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and other decisive measures.

February 1.—At a Council at Buckingham Palace, Her Majesty swore in three Lord-Lieutenants. Sir W. W. Wynn was led in by his brother, in a dreadful state of disease and decrepitude; then came an old acquaintance of mine, Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, lame and paralytic; the third was Lord Lonsdale, nearly blind, and tottering on the brink of the grave. There was something affecting in seeing the young creature, in the bloom of youth, receiving the homage of these decrepit nobles. She very benignantly rose to present her hand to Sir Watkin Wynn, as the poor man could not kneel; and, amongst H.M.'s other amiable qualities, I thought I had always perceived a respect for age.

I dined with Ellice. We had a merry, at least a noisy party; the Tankervilles were there, and the Dawson Damers, our Stanley, and Lord Durham. I had some private talk with the last, who told me he knew he was sent abroad in order to be got rid of; and that, excepting myself, there was not a man in the Cabinet who cared a farthing for him. I did my best, so far as I could consistently with truth, to give him a more kindly feeling

towards Melbourne and Russell; but he shook his head. 1838.

February 2.—In the House of Lords Brougham made a furious attack on our Canada Bill, and on us. Lord Melbourne answered him with much vigour, and made him still more angry. The Duke of Wellington, in the same generous spirit with which he had hitherto supported us, repeated his former assertion that we were justified in not expecting any attack in Canada, and that the troops there were sufficient for the purpose.

FROM DIARY.

February 4.—I walked with my daughter Charlotte across the Serpentine, much to the child's delight, although I own I did not like to hear the ice cracking under the weight of thousands.

February 5.—We brought on our Parliamentary Electors and Freemen Bill. In the course of the debate Sugden recommended the House not to alter the Reform Bill, but "leave well alone." Russell, in his reply, took care to remind Sugden of his prophecy of ruin to the monarchy whilst the Reform Bill was passing.

February 14.—I went to the College of Surgeons and heard Mr. Travers deliver the Hunterian oration. I thought it a little too flowery, but written in a liberal spirit, he being, with Brodie, one of the few of his great profession who belonged to the Liberal party. This accounted for the presence of Lord Radnor and Lord Denman

1838. and other friends at the lecture. Brodie pointed out to me some of the most distinguished guests—Owen, who was bidding fair to be the greatest of comparative anatomists; and Clift, John Hunter's associate, a shepherd's boy from Cornwall. Lord Radnor concluded the evening with a short speech, in which he congratulated the surgeons at being no longer twins with the barbers. This sounded very odd, and was odd, although it is true that Travers had alluded to the union of the two trades, which I believe was not severed until somewhere about 1745.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

February 15.—At the House of Commons to-day Sir Robert Peel, speaking on the question of Ballot, made what I considered the true objection to that measure—namely, that it would take away that influence over the vote which preserves the representative system, in our country, from being of too democratic a character.

To this opinion I incline. I think the Ballot before the Reform Bill, and without it, would have been a good measure; but I am not prepared to say the same of it after, and with the Reform Bill. Accordingly, I have never voted for it since the carrying of that measure, although our Liberal friends have always done me the honour to fancy that I have made a sacrifice of my opinions and conscience for the sake either of friendship or of office, and consequently they

treated me this time, as they did the last, to an ironical cheer as I walked up the House with the majority, and they confined this distinction to me alone. Never mind. 1838.

Although I had resolved not "to mind," I had some difficulty in being silent under the unfair and ignorant attacks made on me. The *Courier* was then a Government newspaper, and in the paper of the next evening I saw that I was attacked as having acted a less *honourable part* than those officials who voted for the Ballot, or than those who stayed away. These people did not know either what honour is or what the facts were.

FROM DIARY.

February 17.—I believe in these days I was worth something as a debater, for Lord Durham told me to-day he should not go to Canada in comfort unless I promised him solemnly to make the "Big Man" my peculiar care. Alas! I fear my time is gone by; at any rate, I cannot speak from the Treasury bench.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

February 22.—In the course of this evening I voted with Rice against the claim of a personage who has had more parliamentary vitality than any man I ever recollect—I mean the Baron de Bode.¹ I thought, at the time, that our Chan-

¹ Baron de Bode laid claim, as a British subject, to losses sustained by him during the French Revolution, and his case was frequently discussed in Parliament. He died in 1846.

1838. cellor of the Exchequer had completely crumpled up and crushed this complicated claim. Far from it. Year after year has it reappeared, and only a short time ago was revived by one of the most accomplished debaters and vigorous reasoners that ever advocated a questionable cause.

February 28.—I was detained in the House of Commons so long that I did not reach the Palace, where I dined, until Her Majesty had sat down to table. The Duchess of Gloucester and several Tory peers were present; but our minorities had not affected the manner of Her Majesty to Lord Melbourne, who sat next to her, and, much to the disgust of my neighbour, Lord Wharncliffe, was engaged in conversation with Her Majesty half the dinner-time. The Queen was pointedly civil to me, and accepted my apologies for being late with her usual benignity. In the drawing-room Lord Melbourne was still next to the Queen. The Duchess of Kent had her own table, and some of the household sat down to another.

March 3.—Talking over our position at a Cabinet meeting, Melbourne, for once, was for standing our ground, if we had a majority only of one. He preferred being charged with tenacity of office, than with a readiness to abandon the Government. I attributed this to the partiality manifested by the Queen for Lord Melbourne's Administration and general management. We sat until half-past five, talking of business, but very much after the manner of men who thought this

business might never come on. Nevertheless, 1838.
this very week Lord John Russell introduced an admirable Bill for the administration of justice in the County Courts, thus adding to his, and I may say our, claims to the gratitude of the country.

March 4.—I had a large party at my own house, to meet the French and Russian Ambassadors. Pozzo di Borgo sat on my right hand, and General Sebastiani on my left. Besides these, there were the American Minister and the Austrian Chargé d’Affaires. Melbourne, J. Russell, Palmerston, Lord Hill, Lord Durham, Lord Radnor, young Lord Russell, Sir James Lushington, and my brother, were also of the party; and we had an agreeable evening.

I had some talk, privately, with both the Ambassadors. The French General said to me of Russia, “Il faut absolument la contenir, oui, absolument”; and Pozzo di Borgo talked to me of the French with the utmost contempt, saying that they made more parade with their paltry Algerine colony than we did with our huge Indian Empire. Pozzo di Borgo then pointed to Lord William Bentinck, and contrasted him with Sebastiani, who was covered with orders. “There,” said Pozzo, “is a good specimen of the two nations; one governed India in a straw hat and a linen jacket—the other comes to meet us here, as you see, covered with decorations! Lord William,” continued Pozzo, “when travelling in India, wore a straw hat and a linen jacket, it is true; but

1838. then he had 300 elephants and 500 dromedaries with him, besides 10,000 cavalry."

March 6.—This day came on our debate about Canada. Lord Sandon, after a long and feeble speech, moved a vote of want of confidence in the Administration, for their ambiguous, irresolute, and dilatory Canadian policy. Lord Stanley moved a violent attack on Palmerston, for having belonged to so many parties in power. Palmerston threw up his hands in surprise at such a charge from such a quarter. This made Stanley more angry, and more bitter, to the great delight of the Tories.

The evening's debate was concluded by a speech from Sir Charles Grey, the Canadian Commissioner, who looked exactly like Mr. Pickwick; so much so, that the muscles even of Sir Robert Peel's face were moved, and none of us could help laughing. Grey was called "Mr. Pickwick" to the end of his days. He was an able man, and, I always heard, a good man, who, like most of us, talked a little nonsense about his own exploits, particularly in regard to the ladies, whom, so he said, he subdued by threatening suicide.

March 7.—We had a very decisive victory on our Canadian debate, but our stupid *Chronicle* did not make half enough of it, for with a little management this ought to have settled matters for the session.

The Queen smiled very significantly as we took our seats at a Council the next day. H.M. had

been observed to be very anxious at dinner the day before. Russell told me that she spoke to him in warm praise of the recent conduct of the Duke of Wellington; but added that she could not say the same of Sir Robert Peel. Lord Melbourne told me he thought that Peel, in his heart, was glad of the result of the struggle in the House of Commons. 1838.

March 10.—I dined at Lord Albemarle's. He had invited a large party to meet the Duke of Sussex, who did not come. Lord Melbourne, Lord and Lady Albemarle, and myself, had a long talk, after every one else was gone, about the Royal Family and the Fitzclarences. Lord Melbourne said their "principal characteristic was, that they would ask for anything."

March 11.—I had a dinner party, and amongst my guests were Lord and Lady Holland. We had an agreeable day, which, indeed, Lord Holland always ensured.

Large anti-slavery meetings were held on two days this week, at Exeter Hall. Lord Brougham was in the chair. His invective against our Cabinet was boundless, and he outlied himself.

On March 17 I went to an Assembly at Lady Albemarle's. This was a rare amusement for me—if amusement it could be called. My chief employment was listening to Pozzo di Borgo's assurances that Russia was giving every possible assistance to the Government of Louis Philippe, and did not countenance Henry V.

1838. The next day I dined with the Duke of Sussex at Kensington, and met a very large party. To this dinner I was invited by a note signed "Cecilia"; and I did not, for some time, know that the writer was the left-handed wife of our host. She was a good-natured, civil lady, and had gone by several names. She was then "Underwood."¹

I dined on March 19 at the Raleigh Club, of which I had been chosen President, in succession to Lord Ripon, who, good-naturedly, proposed me. I proposed the health of Lord Ripon, and he proposed mine. These friendly interchanges of civility between persons so long politically opposed to each other gave a fillip to our meeting.

March 21.—I had an audience with the Queen, and presented a letter from the Regent of the Carnatic. It was in a large tin cylinder, covered with flowered muslin, and H.M., not being used to such correspondence, laughed much when I handed the huge letter to her. I did not detain her long, being fearful of fatiguing her.

I dined afterwards with Lord Durham, at a gorgeous entertainment. The Russian and Austrian

¹ Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773–1843), married in April 1793 Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore, in Rome, and again at St. George's, Hanover Square, in December of the same year. The marriage was dissolved by the Prerogative Court without any reflection on her ladyship's honour in August 1794. On her death in 1830 the Duke proclaimed his marriage with Lady Cecilia, daughter of the Earl of Arran and widow of Sir George Buggin, who had assumed her mother's surname of Underwood. She was created Duchess of Inverness in 1840.

Ambassadors and the American Minister were present. The whole was an affair of great pomp, and, I thought, good taste, except that certain bills of fare, printed and coloured, were headed, "Diner de son Excellence"; on reading which I happened to catch the eye of Ellice, and thought I should have burst out laughing. 1838.

On March 29 I heard Pease, the Quaker, second Sir George Strickland's motion for the abolition of negro apprenticeship. He spoke well; but concluded by weeping, and protesting that he should endeavour to procure mercy for the blacks, as he hoped to find mercy for himself at the Day of Judgment. The House cheered him much, but I owed to our friends on the Treasury Bench that I did not like this eloquence. I thought it bordered upon affectation; so did Palmerston and Russell; and I felt sure they were right, for there was nothing to call for tears in that part of his speech more than in any other portion of it, except that it was near the end, and therefore might produce a better effect.

Howick mentioned that Lord Brougham, now the great agitator for emancipation, was, when in Lord Grey's Cabinet of 1833, the principal promoter of the apprenticeship system! Gladstone concluded the debate the next day, in a masterly speech of three hours.

March 31.—At to-day's Cabinet meeting we agreed to support Charles Buller's Controverted Elections Bill; but referred the nomination of the

1838. legal assessors to our law officers. The Lord Chancellor mentioned three names, amongst whom was my cousin, Henry Hobhouse. Lord Melbourne said he was a narrow-minded man. I assented, knowing what Melbourne meant; but I said that a narrow-minded man would do well enough to advise our Election Committees. Melbourne rejoined that my cousin would give an opinion against a man because he was not respectable, and lived a loose life. I thought this was not unlikely; but I was rather amused at discovering what it was that our chief thought the symptom of a narrow mind.

After the Cabinet broke up I went to Brooks's, and heard read a violent letter from Brougham, denouncing the Government as an ephemeral power, supported only by Court favour, and promising to assist in getting rid of us on his return from Paris. The letter was addressed to the Delegates of the Emancipators of the Blacks.

April 1.—I went to call on Sir Francis Burdett, as I had promised him to do. He received me most kindly; at first we talked about hunting and riding, and our old exploits of that kind. He said he could ride as well as ever, but could not fall as well. He complained of frequent attacks of gout, which, however, never annoyed him when he lived abstemiously, and added that he should do very well if his mouth was sewed up like a ferret's. He told me that slave apprentices were not worse off than the poor in some of the work-

houses; and that it would be as easy to make a case against some overseers of the poor as against the West India planters. He then fell into strong invectives against the new Poor Law, and said it was the only thing that made him apprehensive of a rising of the poor against the rich. 1838.

From Sir Francis Burdett I went to Lord Durham, who hinted that his friends thought he was sent out of the way, on purpose, by the Government. By degrees he got into better humour, and we called on the Duke of Sussex, who was ill. The Duke of Hamilton was with him. The good man talked in his usual significant strain, seeing and foreseeing everything. His apartment was filled with all sorts of articles—dozens of coach-whips, and eighteen watches in one case. Their constant ticking was not agreeable.

On Wednesday, April 4, I again had an audience of Her Majesty; she was most gracious and pleasing. I presented her with a petition from the Royal Asiatic Society, praying for apartments and a grant of money; and I requested H.M. to permit me to speak to Lord Duncannon and Spring Rice on the subject. I added that H.M.'s Treasury could not afford to make presents of large sums. She smiled, and then told me that she had not yet signed the draft of the letter to the Regent of the Carnatic, because she did not know where her signature ought to be placed. She asked me whether she might keep the letter

1838. from the said Regent, which I had sent to her, in the embroidered case; and she added, with a laugh, "They won't let me keep the letters sent through the Foreign Office. I have to send them all back again." I said that was very hard upon Her Majesty, and she might keep the Regent's letter, if she pleased.

I dined this day with my old friend, Lord Langdale. David Baillie was there, the Miss Berrys, the Howicks, and the beautiful Lady Falkland, King William's daughter.

April 7.—I attended a Council summoned to make preparations for the Queen's Coronation. A conversation took place about the Church service at the Coronation, and the length of the Sermon, at which the Archbishop and the Bishops laughed. I asked what it was, and was told that it was at a remark made by Lord Melbourne, who said, half aside, "The fellows now never preach less than an hour and a half." The Bishop of London, who told me this, added that he was afraid Lord Melbourne did not go to church much, otherwise he would have known that sermons were not usually so long as that.

The clever Bishop Blomfield laughed when he told me this; and I ventured to inquire of him what was the usual length of a sermon in England. He replied about half an hour in London, adding that attention could not be kept alive much beyond that time; as to the Coronation sermon, he had preached the last himself, and it

was only twelve minutes long. The Bishop was 1838.
amused at the joviality of Lord Melbourne, and asked me if our Cabinet Councils were conducted in that manner.

FROM DIARY.

April 30.—The Coronation has been postponed to June 28, in consequence of certain members of the Royal Family signifying they could not attend on the anniversary of the death of George IV.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On Wednesday, May 2, I went to the Levee; it was very full. Pozzo di Borgo was there, and spoke to me a good deal about the battle of Waterloo, at which, as our neighbours say, he assisted. He confirmed the fact that the Duke of Wellington was not taken by surprise; "But," said Pozzo, "I will tell you who were taken by surprise—the Prussians." He went on to say that, from the moment the English began to march down the hill, the French fled before them, and made no resistance; there was no manœuvring, the English marched as at a review—all forward—the French running before them. At Brussels the report was that the battle was lost, and Pozzo could scarcely persuade any one to believe to the contrary. He had some difficulty in finding some one to take a letter to the Emperor Alexander, who was at Heidelberg. At

1838. last he saw a subaltern officer, and said to him, "Take this bit of paper, set out immediately, and do not stop until you have given it to the Emperor. Do this, and I make you a captain."

Pozzo, looking at the large picture of Victoria at St. James's, said to me, "There was a battle gained before it began"; and he added, "*Wellington est né pour la guerre, comme un cheval pour la course, ou un chien pour la chasse—c'est sa nature.*"

May 6.—I dined with Sir John (Mr. Justice) Williams. The Duke of Cleveland, a very agreeable gentleman, and his Duchess, still looking handsome, were of the party. Mr. Standish, who had just arrived from Paris, told us that Lord Brougham, on coming to Paris the other day, ordered the postilions to drive him to the Tuileries, that he might report his arrival to the King. It was half-past eleven, and His Majesty had gone to bed.

On the evening of May 10 I went to the first ball given by Her Majesty at Buckingham Palace. The Queen danced a good deal, and sat up until four o'clock in the morning.

Thursday, May 17, the Queen's birthday was kept. I went to the Drawing-room, where was a great crowd. I shook hands, for the first time *since her accession*, with Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts, as she was then called. She gave me a most pleasing reception.

I had a full-dress dinner-party in honour of the

day. This was a novelty. The President and Secretaries of the India Board, on former birthdays, dined with the Colonial Secretary; but I thought we were entitled to a dinner of our own. 1838.

I went afterwards to a crush of full-dress folks at Lansdowne House, where, for the first time, I heard the celebrated Persiani sing.

May 22.—Sir Eardley Wilmot brought forward his motion for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the negroes. The numbers, when we divided, were 96 to 93—at which a great shout was raised from the benches behind us, particularly by O'Connell. We were much discomfited, Russell more so than I had ever seen him.

Wilmot left the House with his Quaker friends, and O'Connell adjourned to a tavern in Palace Yard, where it was proposed, we were told, to offer up prayers for the success of the night. This, however, was stopped by O'Connell inquiring, "If it would look well to pass a vote of thanks to God Almighty?"

I dined at Lansdowne House, May 23, with a large party, to meet the Duke of Sussex. Tom Moore was of the party, and I had a good deal of conversation with him respecting some of Sydney Smith's recent performances. There was a good deal of truth in Moore's criticism on the life and writings of the reverend author, who had lately fallen foul of almost every member of the Government, except John Russell.

Moore told me that S.S. now denied that he was

1838. the author of "Peter Plymley's Letters." "If that be so," said Moore, "S.S. has written nothing worth talking about." Moore told me that he had remonstrated with S.S. for attacking those members of the Government with whom he lived on friendly terms; and he added that Sydney denied that he did live on those terms with any of us. I recorded this as a specimen of the intercourse subsisting between wits and party authors.

Lady Cecilia Underwood dined with us, and I remarked that Lord Lansdowne led her out before the Duchess of Somerset and the Marchioness of Breadalbane; although Lady Lansdowne, on leaving the dinner-table, called on the Duchess of Somerset first to move away. Which of the two, my lord or my lady, was right in their table of precedence, I never inquired from that day to this.

The Duke of Sussex was full of his approaching dinner to the Queen. He told me that he should have seventeen rooms open for the reception of company; and that he had invited eight hundred guests to his evening party. I could not help thinking that there might be some slight connection between this reception and Mr. Gillon's motion for an increase of H.R.H.'s salary.

May 25.—At the House of Commons to-day Peel spoke, and joked, and laughed at his own jokes. He was much cheered, except by Lord Stanley, who hung down his head, as if aware that his leader was exposing himself. I thought Peel a little the worse, or the better, for wine. He was

dressed as for a lady's party, and had come in very late. At last, when he had said something very absurd, I could not help saying, across the table, "My dear Sir Robert!" which he took very good-naturedly, and laughed heartily. 1838.

At the Cabinet, May 26, Russell told us that a change of Ministers was at hand. He himself will be content with the Great Seal. Lord Lyndhurst must be at the head of affairs, as neither Peel nor Wellington is anxious for that eminence. O'Connell must have office in Ireland. Having little business on hand, we amused ourselves with the conjectures of our learned friend.

May 28.—Sir George Grey moved our resolution that negro apprenticeship should not cease before the time fixed by law. Wilmot then moved an amendment in the sense of his own resolution. Russell concluded the debate, commenting on the conduct of Brougham as it deserved, and saying it was prompted by personal and party motives, and degraded the cause it pretended to support. Sir Winston Barron had before spoken of it in terms of the utmost contempt and censure. He talked of "wickedness of which the world hitherto had found no example," and compared Brougham to Satan.

June 2.—At our Cabinet to-day, Lord Palmerston explained what he had been doing to persuade the Portuguese to agree to a treaty for putting down the Slave-trade. It appeared that the Portuguese Government had no objection to this treaty, but

1838. were afraid that their Cortes would not ratify the agreement. We resolved to speak very strongly to the Portuguese Cabinet, and to warn them that we should take the law into our own hands, and treat the slave-traders as pirates.

I dined with Lord Breadalbane, who had a large party to meet the Duke of Sussex. Amongst them was that wonderful old man, Lord Lynedoch, who had a friendly controversy with Lord Melbourne on the celebrated character of the British soldier, said to have originated with the Duke of Wellington. It was this: "Good on parade—irresistible in action—worse than an enemy on the march." Lord Lynedoch denied the latter part of this description.

I remarked this day that our chief had a habit of talking to himself. The Duke of Sussex indulged himself with a cigar. Melbourne said in an audible whisper, "That's smoking."

The next day, June 3, I dined with a very agreeable party at Spring Rice's in Downing Street. I met there Wilmot Horton, just returned from his Governorship at Ceylon. He was looking rather puffy, and too fat, but well. There also was Palmerston and Lord Mulgrave, Lord Clare (Byron's friend), and many others. The evening was passed more pleasantly than usual with such formalities. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer was a very hospitable man, and full of agreeable information on many subjects.

On June 10 I had a party to dine with me;

amongst them were Sergeant Talfourd, Lytton 1838.
Bulwer, Pashley (author of "Travels in Greece"),
Cutler Ferguson, Sir Jasper Nicholls, Lord James
Hay, Lord Cranbourne, David Baillie, Henry
Shepherd, and my old colleague—for whom, in-
deed, I had made the dinner—Sir Francis Burdett.
He was very agreeable, and told amusing stories
of Sheridan and other contemporaries. Ferguson
amused us with anecdotes of Huskisson, and also
of Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Sièyes, and other remark-
able men of the early part of the great Revolution.
He told us of Dr. Jem, Huskisson's uncle, that he
said he had done his best to make his nephew a
democrat and an atheist. He also told us that he
heard Huskisson make his speech against assignats
at the Club of 1789. He told us, too, that King
Louis Philippe said to him, at Paris, the other
day, "I recollect meeting you in the National
Assembly"; and, said Ferguson, "he might have
added, 'at the Jacobin Club,' for we were both
there."

June 16.—At a Cabinet meeting to-day Spring
Rice called our attention, very seriously, to the
state of our income and expenditure. He showed
us how the latter had increased gradually since
1835, and how great was the tendency to ex-
travagance in every department. Howick backed
this complaint, and applied it especially to the
Colonial department, on which Lord Melbourne
remarked that, after all, we had the smallest
army and the largest colonies of any nation in

1838. the world. He added that Government was asked day after day to add to our colonies, and more colonies required more troops. Howick insisted on removing the regiment from St. Helena, and again complained of the Colonial Office. Rice repeated his remarks, and said we should be brought to a standstill, more especially as the present House of Commons was utterly reckless of public expenditure. Lord Melbourne remarked that had been the case with every House of Commons in his time, except when the change in the currency had alarmed the country gentlemen.

This day, June 17, I dined with our Chancellor of the Exchequer, and met Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Melbourne, and Lord John Russell.

Macaulay was in high spirits, and every one seemed delighted with his talk. I heard Lord William Bentinck say, "He is a most extraordinary man."

Macaulay had previously called upon me at the India Board, and we had talked a good deal on Indian affairs. He seemed to me not to have the slightest taint of fanaticism, which somewhat affected, in those days, our Indian servants. Indeed, he told me that the religious controversies which disturbed society at Madras had no existence in Bengal. Of the latter Presidency he said laughingly, "that every man was either a sinner or a saint"; either a hypocrite or an atheist—at least, so called by the opposite party,

On June 18 I went to a full-dress ball at the Palace. All the Ambassadors Extraordinary and their wives were there, except, of course, the French. This being the anniversary of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington and all his seventy soldier guests were invited, and were present. It appeared to me that the ball had better have been given on some other day. I heard the French were offended at the mistake. A beautiful Princess Schwartzenburg, and Countess Strogonoff, the wives of the Russian and Austrian Ambassadors, were pointed out to me. I thought there were two or three of my own countrywomen more lovely than either of them; but I kept this reflection to myself. 1838.

I had, at the Palace, a talk with the Duke of Rutland on our Wellington Memorial. He told me that when he and other members of our Subcommittee waited on the Duke, to ask him to sit for the statue, the great soldier, in answering them, faltered, and tears came into his eyes.

The Levee on June 20 was said to be the most numerously attended ever seen. A crowd of foreigners were present, and amongst them was the Prince de Ligne, the best-looking, as I thought, of them all; he was the grandson of my old Vienna host. Whilst at the Levee I had a conversation with Lord Melbourne on the resignation of Sir H. Fane, Commander-in-Chief in India. He asked me why Fane had resigned. I told him for a very foolish reason—namely, that

1838. he was sixty years of age. Lord Melbourne said :
“It is not a foolish reason. Fox always said he should retire from public life after sixty, but he did not live to be sixty.”

I proposed Fitzroy Somerset to succeed Sir Henry Fane. “A very good man,” replied Melbourne; “but our friends would make a great outcry on the appointment; they are such fools!” We had then some talk about Lord Wellesley still pressing me to get a dukedom for him. Lord Melbourne expressed himself in very strong terms respecting the character of the applicant, and called him “insatiable.” Lord Lansdowne told me, talking on the same subject, that it was an old manoeuvre of the Marquess to get one thing first, and then to make that favour a reason for asking another. Indeed, he acted in this way by me, for he said: “You got £20,000 for me from the Court of Directors; you ought now to get a dukedom for me from the Queen.”

I dined this day (June 20) with Lord Holland, and after dinner we compared notes respecting the resignation of Lord Sidmouth, when he was driven from office and succeeded by William Pitt. My records, derived chiefly from my father, an intimate friend of Addington, tallied with what Lord Holland had heard. If he had chosen to stand his ground, he would in all probability have not been outvoted; but he was outwitted and out-talked. Two or three of his colleagues also behaved shamefully towards him. Lord

1838.

Holland told me that he introduced Robert Smith (Bobus) and George Canning to Lord Shelburne on the same day, and that Lord Shelburne preferred the first, saying, "He did not like the other; he had an unsteady eye." What this meant I did not quite know, but that was the reason assigned for preferring the inferior man. To match this unhappy choice Lord Holland also told me that when — and William Pitt were introduced to Lord Shelburne, his lordship preferred — to Pitt. I thought the first was Lord Sheffield, but I was not sure.

June 23.—I went to the S.S.B.S., and, to my great surprise, met Lord Brougham, who, since he had been made Lord Chancellor, had discontinued his attendance. He was very agreeable, and, amongst other things, told us that what offended George IV. most in Brougham's famous speech on the Queen's trial was his quotation from Milton, which seemed to insinuate that he was shapeless and puffy.

FROM DIARY.

June 27.—Walking in the streets to-day, I found much difficulty in getting along, from the immense crowds and the preparation of scaffoldings for spectators to see the Coronation procession. I went into Hyde Park, and was exceedingly struck with the arrangements for the Fair—about fifty acres covered with tents, divided into long alleys, with every kind of show and booth, sur-

1838. mounted by flags. I saw the tents of the artillery and their guns in the Green Park, also producing a very pleasing effect. A gigantic standard was planted on the marble arch of Buckingham Palace, and waved over the heads of the multitudes who were watching for the Queen's daily drive in the area below. The excitement, good-humoured but intense, was such as I never saw before, and I heard the same from every one.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

The Coronation took place on June 28. I got up early, and at eight o'clock took my children and their governess to the house of Lady Frances Ley on Richmond Terrace. I had some difficulty in getting into the line of carriages, through the barrier at the Haymarket, which was opened to my House of Commons ticket. The streets were thronged with carriages; the balconies and windows and scaffoldings all full of well-dressed people. The crowd in the streets consisted of well-dressed people, and so far as I saw there was no disturbance nor violence, either in word or deed; no swearing, no signs of drunkenness; so orderly a multitude I had never seen.

After I had deposited my children with their aunt, I went on to Palace Yard, and was put down at the great door of Westminster Hall. Almost all the Privy Councillors not Peers were with us and, like ourselves, in full drawing-room dress, except that the white small-clothes were

1838.

not insisted upon. At half-past nine o'clock there were about five hundred M.P.'s in the House. We had to wait some time without any amusement, except a little laughter at Mr. Fector's fine velvet coat and Walter Campbell's naked legs. The drawing out of the names of the county members from covered glasses now began, and as the names were called the members walked down the House to the covered way across Parliament Street, into Poets' Corner in the Abbey. My place, as Member for Nottingham, did not give me a good position; I was, however, about half-way up the lower gallery in our box, and what I witnessed was more impressive than I could possibly have imagined.

The wonderful beauty of the women in the Earl-Marshall's and the Great Chamberlain's boxes, on either hand of us, was absolutely overpowering. The decorations of the Choir, and the dresses of the Earl-Marshall's officers, and of many of the visitors, were gorgeous in the extreme. Prince Esterhazy was glittering in a blaze of diamonds. I had seen many Courts and fine ceremonials, but nothing like what I saw on this day; and I could not help saying to Sir Robert Inglis, who sat immediately below me, "What a fine monarchy!" "Yes," said he, "thank God for it!" He told me that the scene was five times more striking than the coronation of George IV.

Before the Queen came in, Marshal Soult, walk-

1838. ing slowly up the Choir, produced the most attention, and there was some clapping of hands ; no other Ambassador was noticed. He was put in the second row, and, apparently, did not like his place, for he went away. Shortly afterwards, however, he returned ; and Baron Bulow afterwards told me that those who made the arrangement, and placed the French Ambassador in the second row, had acted upon the ceremonial as settled at the Congress of Vienna.

We now heard the guns that announced the departure of the Queen from Buckingham Palace. This was at about ten o'clock, and, at twenty-five minutes past eleven, a royal salute told us Her Majesty had reached the Abbey door. Some time was employed in marshalling the procession and robing Her Majesty. At last we saw the Royal line approaching ; the Princes and Princesses of the Blood entered the Choir. The Queen followed ; and, walking to the seat prepared for her, dropped upon her knees and covered her face with her arms on the crimson desk before her, and prayed. I owned I was much affected, as were those near me. One young Member of Parliament said, " Poor young thing, I wonder what will be her fate ! " But all the Members of Parliament were not equally reverent. Two young fellows indulged in very unbecoming jokes, in order to annoy Sir Robert Inglis ; and I heard some one behind us calling out, " Box-keeper, places ! " I was afraid that the exclamation came from Mr,

Sergeant Talfourd. I asked him if the drama was as well played as his own *Ion*. 1838.

The ceremony proceeded; and, splendid as it was, I thought it tiresome; even the music was tedious, and Handel himself hardly compensated for the fatigue I felt. I was not near enough to see the actual crowning of my Queen; but the simultaneous rising of all the Peers, to place their coronets on their heads, amidst shouts, and trumpets, and the roar of cannon, announced that the deed of the day was done, and Victoria was our crowned Queen. The representatives of all Sovereigns of the civilised world seemed to look down on the august ceremony with as much interest as ourselves. Marshal Soult was eagerly intent upon the scene. I saw him follow with his eye the Duke of Wellington, the Royal Constable of the great occasion.

I stepped down two or three benches and saw the Queen sitting in St. Edward's Chair with her crown on. It was at this part of the ceremony that she was presented with the Bible. After a time she was enthroned on the Chair of State in the midst of the Choir. The Prelates first, and then the Peers, did homage by kissing her hand and touching her crown. As the Duke of Wellington performed this act there was a great shout and a clapping of hands, and Soult again stretched forward to gaze at him; so did the other Ambassadors.

One part of the ceremony appeared to me in

1838. very bad taste; but I was told it could not be dispensed with. This was the throwing about and the scrambling for the Coronation coins. This lasted for some time, amidst much noise and confusion; some of the ladies of the Court were pushed about close to the Queen. A handful of coins was thrown into the Ambassador's box.

Magnificent as was the scene, and such as not one of us would probably ever witness again, several Members of Parliament went away an hour before the conclusion of it—myself amongst the rest. I got to Richmond Terrace without much difficulty, and joined my children in the temporary gallery fronting Parliament Street to see the procession return from the Abbey. After we had waited an hour and a half, the first carriages of the procession, with a battalion of the Guards, began to pass us. The sight without was worthy of the spectacle within the Abbey. The day was fine, and gleams of sunshine flashed upon the cuirasses of the body-guard and the bayonets of the infantry. The equipages of the Ambassadors, Ordinary and Extraordinary, many of them were very splendid; but no one, of all these grand visitors, was cheered except Marshal Soult, and he was very much applauded, not only by the people in the streets, but by well-dressed spectators and ladies in the balconies. He was in a carriage richly painted, with glass panels, and distinctly seen. He bowed repeatedly and respectfully as he passed. The Queen closed the

procession; she wore her crown, and carried her sceptre and her orb steadily and gracefully; but she managed to acknowledge the affectionate greetings and salutations which saluted her on every side, around, above, and below, without discomposure. It was an affecting scene; many cried, "God bless her!" 1838.

Excepting the appearance of Mr. O'Connell, which raised a hiss from the ladies and gentlemen in our galleries, nothing occurred which was not perfectly in accordance with this great national pageant. I remarked the same orderly good-humour in the vast masses, which moved on with the procession, as I had seen in the morning. Neither the soldiers nor the police were called upon to interfere, so far as I saw, even once. There was but one opinion pronounced—namely, that the Coronation, so much decried beforehand, had gone off with complete success.

I got my children away with little difficulty, and reached home by six o'clock. I walked in Hyde Park, and looked at the Fair. The same good-humoured contentment prevailed there as in the streets. After dinner I went to the house of Lord Methuen, in Park Street, and took my children to see the fireworks. I also went to the ball at the Duke of Wellington's, and made my bow to his Grace. Several of the Coronation Ambassadors were there. So passed this long-looked-for day.

1838. In the evening of this day, June 29, a full-dress party dined with me. Amongst them was General Ventura, Commander-in-Chief of Runjeet Singh's army in the Punjaub; he was a native of Provence, and had served under Napoleon, before the Empire, and after. Giuseppino Albrizzi, one of the Chamberlains of the Emperor of Austria, was also one of my guests. He was almost a boy when I left him at Venice; he was now purblind, and wore spectacles, and had lost his front teeth; but he was as mild and pleasing as ever, and reminded me of the days when Byron and I frequented the little drawing-room where his mother held her conversazioni.

I went afterwards to a full-dress party at Lansdowne House. All the Ambassadors, Ordinary and Extraordinary, were there. Soult was much gazed at, and followed about. The general talk was of the success of the Coronation. Prince Esterhazy came to me, and, holding my hand for a minute or two, assured me of the great delight the whole proceeding had afforded him, as giving a happy prospect for the British monarchy and the repose of the world.

June 30.—This evening I dined with Marshal Soult in Portland Place. There were about thirty guests. When I came into the room the Marshal was standing near the door, and made me a bow. I returned it, and said I hoped he had not been fatigued by his attendance at the Coronation. He replied that it was impossible to be fatigued, *par*

une si belle cérémonie. It was the first time I 1838.
had been near him. He seemed to me a pleasing-looking old man, with high cheek bones, and lively, intelligent eye; his scanty grey hairs were combed over his head and forehead, and his whole appearance was like that of a Scotch country gentleman. His right leg was "bandied," as it appeared to me, not by accident, but, as I was told, from his birth. He was quiet and simple in his manner; during dinner-time he spoke but little. He was plainly dressed, with a black neckcloth, and his red ribbon of the Legion of Honour was scarcely seen.

Lord Grey was there and looked very much dissatisfied with something into which I did not inquire; he scarcely spoke a word to any one. The dinner was bad and cold, the attendants numerous and gorgeously dressed. The chief attentions of the Marshal were directed to Lord Holland; the Marshal walked to the head of the staircase to take leave of him. M. de Bourqueney, Secretary to Sebastiani's Embassy, introduced me to the Marquis of Dalmatia, the eldest son of Soult. With him I had a good deal of conversation, chiefly relative to the cordial reception given to the Marshal at the Coronation. He expressed himself in grateful terms, and said that the impression would never be lost either upon his father or upon France.

July 2.—Going home with Lord John Russell, we had a good deal of conversation on the strange

1838. conduct of Lord Durham in Canada. He had appointed a man of a very damaged character one of the secretaries of his Government, and also an Executive Councillor. The subject had been taken up in the Lords by Lord Wharncliffe, and Lord Melbourne had confessed that he had heard of the appointment "with surprise and concern," and trusted it would not finally take place.

July 7.—I took occasion to mention, this day, to my colleagues, the ridiculous clause in the "Indian Labourers" Bill, which had recently come down to the Commons from the Lords. It provided that places of worship should be provided for them wherever they were settled. Lord Melbourne seemed to doubt whether anything so absurd could be found in a Government Bill. But there was the clause, drawn up after a plan sent to me by Mr. Groom, solicitor to the India Board.

I dined with Lord John Russell. Six of the Ambassadors Extraordinary were present. Count Strogonoff, Prince Putbus, and Count Miraflores, were on his right hand; Prince Schwartzenburg, the Duke of Palmella, and Count Capella Bianca, were on his left. Lord Howick, Mr. Lister, Charles Gore, Codrington, and myself made up the rest of the party. The conversation was chiefly in French about balloons, interrupted by Codrington's chatter and request to Strogonoff and others to drink with him *à l'Anglaise*.

Palmella said he recollected being in Rome in 1838. 1804, when the news of the coronation of Napoleon was brought from Paris, by a balloon, in twenty-four hours. I sat next to Miraflores; he talked to me of Mendizabal,¹ whom he described as a quick, smart, adventurous person, but without any real character, no "fonds," no perseverance, no principle. He ended by saying that Spain wanted only one thing—"money."

When we went upstairs Palmella introduced himself to me, and asked me about my visit with Lord Byron to Lisbon in 1809. He attributed the late disorders in Portugal to those whom he chose to call French vagabonds. Talking of England, he said, "We were ancient revolutionists, and knew how to manage changes without much mischief; nevertheless, he did not think we could remain much longer in our present condition. The French certainly could not; they would either have elective monarchy or a republic, or would fall back into despotism." I ventured to say, we should never have revolution here. He replied, "*Je ne dirai pas jamais; peut-être pas de notre temps.*" His opinion was, I saw, that reforms would be forced by the people, quietly, even upon the great despotic States.

I went away much pleased with the evening. The foreigners were in stars and ribbons, and,

¹ Appointed first Minister of Queen Isabella II. of Spain in 1835, dismissed in May 1836, reappointed Finance Minister in September, and again dismissed in August 1837.

1838. excepting Codrington, our host, etc., we English formed a marked contrast with them, so far as fineries were concerned.

On Monday, July 9, Mr. Sanford, M.P. for Somersetshire, lent me a charger, and I rode into Hyde Park to see the Queen review the Guards—about 4,700 men. The Ambassadors Ordinary and Extraordinary were present. Marshal Soult was near the Queen's carriage.

I went down the line after the Queen. The troops afterwards marched by Her Majesty. The Duke of Wellington rode at the head of his regiment, the Grenadier Guards; and I saw the French Generals pointing him out and looking very earnestly at him.

The marching of the infantry and artillery, and the file-firing, with which the review concluded, were admirable. Our cavalry, that is, the 10th Hussars and the Lancers, did not perform quite so well. Sir Henry Hardinge remarked to me that our infantry and artillery were perfect—the cavalry worth nothing. Lord Uxbridge told me that Soult had expressed himself in terms of the highest admiration at the sight. He said that there was not a man nor a horse of the field-artillery who was not fit for a picture; as for the infantry, it was superfluous to praise them.

The Queen was much applauded; so was Soult, and others who were mistaken for Soult. The Duke of Wellington, after he had passed with his

regiment, kept out of the way, and rode on his chestnut charger to look at the line drawn up. I heard he did this out of a delicate feeling towards Soult and his French suite. 1838.

July 10.—I went into the House of Lords and heard Brougham make a furious onslaught on the Duke of Wellington, for not voting with him for producing the instructions to a naval officer relative to the seizing of arms on board a Sardinian vessel shipped for the use of Don Carlos. The Duke recommended their Lordships not to insist upon seeing the instructions, and then went away to dine with Marshal Soult, and was followed by seven or eight others, so that, when the division took place, the numbers were even, and, as a tie is negative in the Lords, the motion was lost. Vernon Smith told me that Brougham was heard to say, "The Abbey yearns for him," meaning for the Duke of Wellington! I told this to Russell, who added, "And Bedlam for him!"

I dined, on July 13, at the great dinner given to the Foreign Ambassadors at the Mansion House. I arrived in time to see Marshal Soult received by the Lord Mayor and by the Duke of Wellington, who shook him cordially by the hand and talked some time to him.

I was seated between the Speaker and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; next to Rice was Labouchere, and next to him was Brougham; immediately opposite to whom sat Lord Melbourne

1838. and Lord John Russell. I afterwards learned that he (B.) had refused to sit in the place assigned to him amongst the Peers, and said he would sit with the Judges. Accordingly, he took the card from the plate reserved for G. S. Byng, and put himself next to Justice Littledale. He did not speak a word to Rice, or Russell, or Melbourne. Just as the health of the Queen's Ministers were given, the Duke of Nemours and his suite went away, and caused some confusion, so that Melbourne, who had risen to return thanks, sat down again, as all of us did. Presently came a messenger from the Lord Mayor, saying, "My Lord Melbourne, the Lord Mayor is waiting for you." The notice of this was hastily acknowledged: "D—n him, let him wait"; but Melbourne soon rose, and spoke well, and was much cheered, though I saw Lord Aberdeen, who was opposite, smile. The Speaker, who had risen to return thanks for some health, on sitting down again, fell back on the ground, and then Aberdeen and Haddington burst into a loud laugh. I picked up Mr. Speaker, who behaved decorously. He was in full Court-dress. The next toast was "his Grace the Duke of Dalmatia and his Grace the Duke of Wellington," an absurd mode of coupling the healths of two such men; but quite suited to the City taste.

The Duke of Wellington first returned thanks, and said some handsome things of Soult, which Soult more than repaid. I was amused by the

French reporter, who took down Soult's speech, 1838.
close to him, and was so charmed that he continued
to write, and cry "Bravo!" and clap hands at
the same time. I read the next day that he was
a French teacher at the London University, or
King's College.

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CHAPTER V

1838. FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On July 22 I dined with the Duke of Palmella. The party was very large; amongst them was Lord and Lady Jersey, Lord and Lady Stuart de Rothesay, Count Flahaut and Lady Keith, Lord Seaforth, Lord John Russell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, General Sebastiani and his wife, Baron Moncorvo, and several Portuguese gentlemen attached to the Embassy. I thought my host Palmella the same agreeable personage that I had at first found him to be. The dinner was worthy of the occasion, but, as usual, dull. Luckily, I sat between Spring Rice and Baron Moncorvo, both of whom were lively and amusing. Before dinner Sebastiani took me aside, and amongst other things he said he thought our Foot-Guards were the best troops in the world, and he repeated this opinion.

I had afterwards a long and amusing conversation with Lord Stuart de Rothesay. His strictures on the Ambassadors Extraordinary were almost laughable. Excepting Soult and Palmella, not one of them was worth notice. One of them, with a great name, was the son of a moneylender. Even

Palmella¹ came in for his share of criticism; he came over to assert his claim to some money owing to him, and was selected because he was the only man who could make it worth his while to accept so expensive a mission. My lord did not spare all the ladies; for, on my remarking how handsome Lady —— looked, “Yes,” said he, “but go and see her in the morning!” 1838.

There was a full-dress dinner on July 25, at the Palace. The Queen entertained the Foreign Ambassadors, Ordinary and Extraordinary, and their wives, also the Foreign Ministers and their families, besides some other guests. Amongst them was Lord Grey, who was more than usually out of temper, and would hardly deign to notice any of us, not even Russell, who looked in vain for a recognition.

We dined in the long gallery. It was the first occasion that it had been so used. The sight was very striking; but Colonel Cavendish observed that Charles Murray did not know how to decorate a table. He ought to have sent to Windsor for all the Royal gold plate. I thought it quite fine enough. There were covers for 103, and 100 came. I sat next to the Marquis of Dalmatia,² and had some interesting talk with him. He defended the Spanish policy of Louis Philippe; but confessed that our insular position enabled us to take a more

¹ The Duc de Palmella, Portuguese Envoy. He was Queen Maria's Minister, who was somewhat abruptly dismissed by her in October 1846, owing to his inability to raise a loan.

² Marshal Soult's son.

1838. decided part, "of which," said he, "you would be glad to be rid, if you could." I asked him, "What are the politics of the present French Cabinet?" He answered, "None." "Well," replied I, "by what name do they go?" "None." "What are Molé's politics?" "I do not know, and he does not know himself." Speaking of his father, he said it was not likely that he would come into office until the Spanish question was settled. I asked him who was the best speaker in the Chamber of Deputies. He replied, "Berryer, beyond all doubt; he was the Mirabeau of the day—superior, in his way, to our Brougham. He was corrupt and profligate in every way." I asked what were his objects. "That," answered the Marquis, rubbing his finger and thumb together, "Money, money; he is paid for all he says." I did not ask him whether he talked of Berryer as a legal advocate, or as a politician and parliamentary orator.

The Queen was in-high spirits. Colonel Cavendish told me that she was delighted with the project of giving this dinner, and said to him that "there must be a hundred at table, at the least." I saw no Conservatives there, except the Duke of Wellington.

I had a little conversation with the Duke of Wellington about the testimonial to be erected to him. He confessed that there was some appearance of a little manœuvring in the management of it. As for himself, he was the last man to give an

opinion, and he would sit to any one appointed by the Committee. He added that he thought now the choice of Wyatt was inevitable. 1838.

I talked with Marshal Soult on his late visit to Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, with which, in his quiet way, he expressed himself much delighted. The Marshal, with his son-in-law De Mornay, came to the House of Commons the next day, and I took them under the gallery. Whilst I was speaking to them, Mr. Baines, M.P. for Leeds, rose, and asked me several questions about idolatry in India. I gave answers which were much cheered, and said to be satisfactory.

July 30.—I went to a Council at St. James's Palace, and had an audience of the Queen afterwards, to give Her Majesty some information respecting the expedition to the Persian Gulf.¹ I informed the Queen I had spoken to the Russian Ambassador on the subject, and that he had denied all intention, on the part of his Government, of countenancing the Persian movement towards the Indus. The Queen smiled, and said that "of course the Russians would deny participating in the aggression; but their words made very little difference, except when founded on facts."

In Committee of Supply on this evening a

¹ The Shah of Persia, instigated by Russia, had laid siege to Herat, in spite of the active efforts of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) MacNeill. In June Mr. MacNeill broke off official relations with the Shah, and asked for military aid. A small British force was sent to Karrack, in the Persian Gulf, and the Shah thereupon conceded all the demands of England. The whole story is fully related in Sir J. MacNeill's life.

1838. debate took place on the grant to Maynooth College, which I should not have noticed had it not been for a humorous speech by Daniel O'Connell. The grant was opposed by Colonels Verner, Sibthorp, and Perceval; and O'Connell parodied, in reference to them, the famous lines, "Three poets, in three distant ages born," in this way:

"Three Colonels, in three distant counties born,
Did Lincoln, Sligo, and Armagh adorn;
The first in face, the next in jollity,
The third excelled in dull sobriety.
The force of Folly could no further go;
To beard the first she shaved the other two."

There was much laughter at this sally; more, I thought, than it was worth. Nevertheless, it was good nonsense, although bad English, for "to beard" does not mean "to give a beard." The excuse for this was, that the three Colonels had made a violent attack on the Catholic priesthood.

We have had several angry debates in the House of Commons in discussing the Lords' amendments of our Municipal Corporation Bill. Russell spoke with great vigour and determination, stating his unwillingness to bow his neck to the yoke of the House of Lords. On this Sir James Graham rose, and taunted Russell with his allusion to "the yoke of the House of Lords," and asked him how that tallied with what was going on now in that Assembly, who were, he said, at that moment engaged in passing the Government

Tithe Bill without appropriation. He concluded by saying that the Lords would best preserve their majority by preserving their principles. To this our friends replied only by a volley of murmurs and groans; and, to the credit of our regular opponents, it must be told that little or no applause was heard when Graham sat down. 1838.

At our Fish Dinner at Blackwall, on August 8, we had the usual amusement, if so it might be called, in the good-humoured pleasantry of our Attorney-General, Campbell, who proposed that his "brother" Ball, Attorney-General for Ireland, should be allowed to give the health of Her Majesty's Ministers, and dwell on their united and individual merits; not forgetting their consistency and steadfast adherence to their principles, as exemplified by their standing so manfully by their Appropriation clause. Lord Melbourne did not much relish the joke, and Lord Lansdowne looked seriously angry. So we went on fooling and befooled, until Glenelg made a serious speech, and said he hoped we might all be in the same place next year, and behave towards each other as sincerely as we had hitherto done, adding that this was the only consideration that would induce him to remain connected with us.

August 16.—Lord Holland told me that Lord Durham, although very unyielding about trifles, was more tractable in serious matters than could be expected from a man of his spirit and temper.

1838. I found that our chief entertained a very unfavourable opinion of Durham; in fact, he talked of him as of a man on whom no dependence could be placed; and who, in that respect, was worse than Brougham. Lord Durham has his faults, that is certain; but I cannot say that I think so ill of him as Melbourne does.

August 17.—I did not witness the close of this wearisome session, but passed the afternoon at Richmond. Sir Robert Inglis informed me that the House had been sitting 173 days, during which time 1,134 hours had been occupied with public business, and no less than 64 new Bills had been introduced since July 1.

I took leave of Lord Melbourne, who promised to pay me a visit if he came to Bowood. He told me that he was more nervous about public matters when Parliament was not sitting than during the session, although he confessed that it was a nuisance to be badgered by every ignorant or impertinent member who chose to ask questions.

I went to Erle Stoke the next day, and thought it a great exploit to get there in eight hours from Paddington.

On Saturday, October 6, I left Erle Stoke and went to Windsor Castle. Her Majesty was in excellent health and spirits, and was looking handsome. The Queen went out riding, and horses were brought out for the Ministers, but I was too much fatigued, and did not accompany the Queen. The dinner-party consisted of the

Ministers, the Princess Augusta, and H.M.'s household. I was fortunate in being seated next to Lady Lyttelton, Lord Spencer's sister, a very agreeable lady. Lord Melbourne sat next to the Queen on one side, and the Lord Chancellor on the other. She was extremely gracious to her guests. Our principal talk was of railroads. 1838.

On Sunday I attended Her Majesty to St. George's Chapel. The singing was beautiful; but it made the service intolerably long. The preacher was my old Twickenham friend, Proby—a very poor performer.

In the drawing-room, after dinner, the Queen and Lord Melbourne looked over a fine collection of prints, Lord Melbourne explaining the Latin inscriptions to Her Majesty.

The next morning I rode out with the Queen, and enjoyed the magnificent forest scenery, without a rival in the world. The Queen rode between Lord Melbourne and Colonel Cavendish, with Sir George Quentin in attendance behind. H.M. was attended also by Miss Quentin, who prepared her horses for her, and was attached to the Court. I heard from the Baroness Lehzen that the Queen had had a fall recently. Colonel Cavendish spoke to me very seriously of this accident, and I advised him to speak to Lord Melbourne about it. The Colonel shook his head, as if he thought his advice would not be well received. I was well mounted on a horse called the "Viscount," trained for the Queen. I thought it too lively; and in

1838. those days I rode pretty well, and was able to form a judgment on that matter.

I left Windsor Castle on October 9, and on October 19 I heard that Lord Durham had resigned his mission to Canada. A few days after I received a copy of Lord Durham's despatch. Amongst other things he stated that Turton¹ was recommended to him by a member of the Cabinet. He meant by me; I have already told the fact, and need not repeat the refutation of this mistake. I did not quite make out that he had actually resigned. Indeed, some of his puffers gave out that the Queen had written an autograph letter to him requesting him not to resign—a pure fiction.

On the night of Sunday, October 28, a furious hurricane blew down eighteen large trees in the park at Erle Stoke and adjoining meadows, and lifted part of the lead roof off the mansion. I had not recollected such a storm since November 1831.

On Saturday, November 3, came the sad intelligence of the death of Lady John Russell at Brighton. I wrote a letter to Lord Tavistock on the subject, and begged him, if he approved, to show it to Russell. I heard from Lord Melbourne that it was a dreadful blow; but that he trusted to Russell's courage and sense of duty to enable him to bear it.

Dining this day, November 21, at Lord

¹ See note on page 173.

Holland's house in Savile Row, I met Lord Melbourne, Luttrell, Le Marchant, Spencer Cowper, George Anson, and Mr. Allen; to me a most agreeable day. Lord Melbourne gave a very decided opinion of the general incomplete education of boys educated at public schools; yet he confessed that many entertained opinions very different from his, and told us that Lord Wellesley was so passionately fond of Eton that his great ambition was to be Provost of Eton. Lord Holland gave us several instances of Mr. Canning's quickness in writing Latin verses off-hand. 1838.

In the evening Madame Sebastiani came, and we were also joined by Pozzo di Borgo, Dedel, and Alava, the Spanish Minister. Alava afterwards talked of the marked politeness of the speakers in the Cortes, which, he said, was singular when contrasted with their readiness to cut throats out of doors, or when compared with the violence of our House of Commons orators.

Lady Holland told me that she had been told by Count Molé that he considered his Ministry in much the same position as ours—viz. supported by a small but sure majority. Their trying question was the cultivation of beetroot, which, absurd as it sounded to English ears, was of considerable importance in France.

This same day I heard from Lord Durham that he was coming home immediately. He characterised the proceedings of the Peers as "the height of criminality and folly," and pre-

1838. dicted an outbreak in the winter. His fears had been excited by a despatch from Fox, our Minister at Washington, announcing an organisation of American sympathisers, to the number of 40,000, prepared to invade the Canadas. Durham concluded that he ought to come home, and save his country in Parliament; "the only place," so he said, "in which he could be useful."

At a Cabinet dinner, at Lord Melbourne's, all of us appeared very forbearing in open conversation; but in private conversation, one with another, we began to talk of Lord Durham, and there was no difference of opinion amongst us—all condemned his conduct. Indeed, no defence could be made for it. In the first place, he was coming away a month before he intended; next, he had given up his announced intention of returning through the United States. He then told us that nothing could be done in the colony, after issuing a Proclamation almost inciting a rebellion, and leaving the colony to be administered by the military authorities. All these proceedings, we heard, were condemned by every right-thinking man.

November 24.—I dined at the S.S.B.S., in our new room at the new Lyceum Theatre. It was rather a memorable day. I found Hastie, M.P., alone; then came Henry Stephenson, with Luttrell as a guest. My friend Stephenson was in a fume, and said that he heard Lonsdale, the painter, one of the best men of the Society, was about

to bring Brougham with him, and that, if he did, he (Stephenson) should walk away. I remonstrated against this proceeding, and said no one had a right to disturb a social meeting with reference to private disagreements. In answer to this, Stephenson urged the base conduct of Brougham to Lord Durham, and, whilst we were talking, in came Lonsdale and Lord Brougham. Brougham walked up and shook hands with Luttrell and myself, and put out his hand to Stephenson, who made a cold bow, and turned away; on which Brougham exclaimed "Oh!" and talked to us as if nothing had happened. He took me aside, and talked of Lord Durham's retirement from Canada. He said "it was incredible"; adding that "if a soldier ran away, he would never have another chance of running away given him; nor would Durham ever again be employed." I said nothing, except that I thought Lord Durham had made a false move. After dinner Brougham was as gay as usual, and talked to Stephenson, and took wine with him, as if nothing had occurred between them. Stephenson gave the health of the late Lord Chancellor. "With all my heart," said Brougham; "here's the health of Lord Lyndhurst!"

Brougham asked me whether he would be able to go to his villa at Cannes, and be in time for the meeting of Parliament. I said I thought he might; he then told me he had intended to ask this question of Palmerston, "the only member,

1838.

1838. as it is reported," he said, of the Cabinet with whom I hold any intercourse, or expect any kindness."

At our Cabinet on November 26 we discussed Russell's Education scheme. Lord Melbourne confessed that he was against the thing altogether; on which Howick said, "Thank God there are some things which even you cannot stop, and that is one of them." Melbourne only smiled. I thought that our opponents would try to make a Church question out of it, and say we wanted to take education out of the hands of the clergy. Rice said that the clergy had it already, and it was better to make them managers of a good system than a bad system.

Palmerston afterwards brought forward the question of augmenting the Navy. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer looked black at a proposal entailing a necessity for more money and new taxes; but Lord Melbourne said we must come to that some day or the other, and we should not be justified in exposing our shores and our arsenals to the insults and outrages of a Russian fleet. Such an attack might appear to be a mad project; but it was never safe to suppose men incapable of mad projects, and even the unopposed appearance of a Russian fleet in the narrow seas would degrade England in our own eyes and in the eyes of all the world. Palmerston proposed to ask Russia, in the first instance, not to equip more than a certain portion of her fleet

in the spring; saying, at the same time, that, 1838.
if she exceeded the proposed number we should
augment our navy.

Lord Melbourne then assumed a tone not usual with him, and said he considered England to have been under the special protection of Providence at certain periods of her history, several of which he mentioned, from the dispersion of the Spanish Armada to the retirement of the French squadron in Bantry Bay; but Melbourne added that "no man ought to count upon such interposition of Divine favour, and use no human effort."

Amongst our other difficulties we heard from Lord Palmerston that the affairs of Belgium wore a threatening aspect. Just now, also, we were compelled to attend to affairs at home. Lord Hill had written a letter to Lord Glenelg on the unsatisfactory state of the Army.

And as, according to the old saying, "it never rains but it pours," Lord Glenelg read to us a letter which he had received from Sir James Smith, Governor of Jamaica, representing the desperate condition of Government in that island, with a hostile Assembly and an unfriendly constituent body; add to this, we were told, that the Attorney-General of the colony was adverse to the Governor, and that the laws passed seemed to encourage, if not justify, animosities between the white and black population. The only remedy, as we were told, was a suspension of the Constitution in the island.

1838. *December 2.*—I met our Stanley,¹ who told me that news had just arrived of the rebellion in Canada having again broken out, and that the son of our friend Ellice had been seized at his own house, with his wife, at Beauharnois, and were under confinement there.

I called on Lord Wellesley, who said that Brougham had been with him this morning, and had informed him of the breaking out of the second rebellion. He strongly disapproved of Lord Durham's conduct, and contrasted it with his own, when the Court of Directors disapproved of his conduct. "My answer," said he, "was the conquest of the Mahrattas. I did not become sulky and run home."

1839. On December 10 I went to Torquay, and remained there with my children until January 12, when I returned to London.

FROM DIARY.

Coming to Berkeley Square, I found an invitation to dine at the Palace. There I found a small party—no guests but Lord Melbourne and Mr. and Lady Mary Abercromby. I handed in the latter, a bride, daughter of Lord Minto, to dinner—a pleasing young woman.

The Queen came up to me in the drawing-

¹ Edward John Stanley, M.P. for North Cheshire. Called "our Stanley" to distinguish him from Edward Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby. E. J. Stanley was, in 1848, created Baron Eddisbury, and in 1850 succeeded his father as second Baron Stanley of Alderley.

1839.

room, and asked a few civil questions about Erle Stoke, and I hoped Her Majesty had not suffered by being at the theatre the night before. She asked me if I had been there, and seemed surprised that I should know she had been there. I asked her how she had liked Brighton, and she said that she had found herself quite well since she had come to London.

The Queen kissed the bride at first coming into the room, and seemed very attentive to her. The Duchess of Kent looked at the pale bridegroom and the nut-brown bride with a smile several times.

January 17.—I saw John Russell for the first time since his misfortune. He shook my hand affectionately. He had little or nothing in his demeanour denoting what had occurred.

January 18.—I dined early with my sister at Alexander's, and went to Drury Lane to see Van Amburgh with his lions; but we stayed too long at dinner, and got there only just in time to see the man coming out of the den and the lion springing after him as he shut the cage. The beast seemed very savage, and what I saw of the strange sight made me wish to go again. I had to sit out a pantomime and farce and ballet, which I have not done for years. The dancing seemed much improved since I saw it last at Drury Lane, but I could make nothing of the farce.

January 26.—This day I dined at Lord Breadal-

1839. bane's. I met there Prince Czartoryski, whom I had not seen for some time. But my principal conversation this evening was with young Van Buren, son of the President of the United States. He talked to me very fairly, as I thought, on our Canadian difficulties, saying it was very difficult to prevent the incursions of vagabonds across a frontier of two thousand miles; and that, after all, not more than five hundred, if so many, had been engaged in the piratical invasion.

In the drawing-room I had much conversation with the beautiful hostess, Lady Breadalbane. She told me that she was with the Queen on the last Thursday, when H.M. went down behind the scenes to see Van Amburgh and his lions. The audience had left the house, and, besides the Royal suite, there was no one present, except Mr. Bunn, the manager of the theatre, and Van Amburgh. H.M. stayed near the cage of the wild animals whilst they were fed.

The Queen has seen the lions three or four times, and has commanded another performance for next Tuesday. This is childish—nothing more!

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

January 27.—Lord Durham still continued to be a source of much annoyance, and persevered in his threat to charge Stanley and me as having been his advisers in regard to the employment of

Mr. Turton.¹ Now it was true that we had said 1839.
to him casually, before he had left England, "As you are to have Turton in company, why should you not ask his opinion?" But this by no means amounted to recommending him to give Turton an official appointment; and I took means to let Durham know that. Although his story might involve Stanley and me in a disagreeable controversy, it could not help him in any way.

But our friend had become a little more placable, and, to account for his ill-humour, had told more than one of our colleagues that Sir John Conroy had persuaded him that Lord Melbourne was anxious to keep him from all intercourse with the Queen. He could not have had a worse authority for any conjecture respecting Lord Melbourne or respecting Her Majesty than Sir

¹ Thomas Turton was a school-fellow of Lord Durham's at Eton, and afterwards distinguished at the Indian Bar. Mr. Edward Stanley suggested his appointment to go out with Lord Durham to Canada, and the suggestion was backed by Sir J. C. Hobhouse. He therefore went out with the tacit consent (though under no written engagement) of the Ministry. At the last moment Melbourne took alarm (apparently at some rumour or information about Turton's character, which was not of the best), and urged Lord Durham to throw him over; but Lord Durham refused. While Lord Durham was on the Atlantic, questions were asked in the House about Turton, and acrimonious discussions took place in the House of Lords. Subsequently Melbourne and Glenelg both wrote letters of protest to Lord Durham about him. On his arrival in Canada, Lord Durham had appointed Turton one of his private secretaries. Lord Durham pointed out to Melbourne that he had told him, before starting, that he intended to employ Turton, and Melbourne had not objected. He could not dismiss him now; he was receiving no salary, and so far had been very successful. Turton subsequently helped Lord Durham by gathering materials for his report.

1839. John Conroy. The impudence of this clever man in those days was almost incredible. He had written to a friend at St. Petersburg to say that he should pay that capital a visit in the spring. The Emperor Nicholas was much incensed at hearing it, and said, "If he does, I will hang him with my own hand!" Lord Clanricarde, our Ambassador in Russia, told this in a letter to Lord Palmerston, who told it to me. Nicholas had before said of Lord Durham's Canadian Proclamation, "If he had issued that under the Russian Government, he would have been tried for his life."

At the S.S.B.S. on Saturday, February 2, I heard an anecdote of our Queen which did not the least surprise me. When Her Majesty went to see Van Amburgh's wild beasts fed, the tiger made a spring which nearly overturned the cage. Lord Conyngham (Lord Chamberlain) was much startled, as well he might be; but Her Majesty never moved a muscle, nor showed the slightest sign of alarm. Mr. Bunn, the manager, was present, and told this to Mr. Arnold, who mentioned it to us.

February 5.—Her Majesty opened the Parliament. I saw her return from the House. There was a great crowd in the streets, but very little cheering, except from the ladies in the balconies. There were some fellows in the crowd hawking what they called "Brougham's Letter"; I did not inquire what it was. Others exhibited placards,

with "Cheap Bread" on them; but I did not 1839.
hear any of the rude language which was alluded to in some newspapers. Her Majesty looked very well, and two of my family, who were in the House of Peers, told me that she read the Speech distinctly and went through the ceremony with much grace and dignity.

Russell made a good speech, and he again laid down the principles of the Cabinet as to further Reform. He said that it was very natural that those who had foretold the insufficiency of the Reform Bill should not be satisfied with it; but that, as for himself and the Cabinet, they were content to follow in the footsteps of Lord Grey and Lord Althorp. Lord Stanley cheered this; and the next day he told Lord Tavistock that nothing could be more satisfactory than his brother's speech.

I carried Lord Palmerston home this evening; he agreed with me that the "opening" had been unusually spiritless.

Lord Glenelg has resigned the Seals of the Colonial Office. It appears Melbourne wrote to him, pressing him to take the Privy Seal, and stating his wish to have Lords Normanby and Morpeth in the Cabinet. "Unfortunately," said Lord Palmerston, who told me the story, "he added something more about energy and activity being wanted at the Colonial Office." This angered Glenelg, and he resolved to resign.

On February 9, dining with the S.S.B.S., I met

1839. young Milnes,¹ son of the orator, for the first time, with whom I became exceedingly intimate in after-life. He has been very active in political life, and has become a Peer.

Walking away from the House on February 11, I saw Lord Stanley, who called aloud across the street to me, "Who is to have Glenelg's night-cap?" Such was the general impression in regard to my late colleague; but he was by no means a lazy man, he was only too scrupulous in the choice of his language, and took more time than was necessary in composing his despatches. He was one of the very best speakers I ever heard in the House of Commons, and a more estimable man, every way, never lived.

On February 12 Lord John Russell developed his scheme for National Education under the superintendence of the President of the Council and certain other Ministers of the Crown. Our friends seemed to approve the plan much, and the leaders of the Opposition did not express any decided dissent. Peel, indeed, confessed that he was glad the Church of England was awakened to the importance of the subject. My friend Sir Robert Inglis was true to his principles, if so they might be called, for he reiterated his old saying that instruction and knowledge were in themselves—that is, without religion—an unmixed evil. Lord Ashley also expressed himself

¹ Richard Monckton Milnes, created Baron Houghton in 1863.

displeased that the State should pay for the education of any but Church-of-England men. 1839.

On February 23 I dined with the Speaker. It was a more agreeable party than usual. It was mentioned, on apparently good authority, that Count Ludolf declared on his deathbed that, although he had passed himself off for only eighty-seven, he was, in fact, ninety-three. I recollected him thirty years before, at Constantinople, and he was then an aged-looking man. He had dined with me only the year before, that was in 1838, and he ate and drank and talked merrily. The Speaker reminded me that Ludolf had sat next to him on that occasion, and enjoyed himself exceedingly. After the Speaker's dinner I went, for a wonder, to an assembly at Lady Tankerville's. One of the Royal Dukes, who was there, came up to me and asked me "if the Persian Ambassador, who was coming to England, was a clever fellow, and if he spoke French"!

When I came to the Cabinet on Saturday, March 2, Lord Palmerston showed me a letter from the Duke of Wellington saying that he had heard indirectly from the aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia that he had seen, on the desk of the Emperor, a proposal bearing on it the words, "Approved by the Emperor." The proposal was enclosed in the Duke's letter, and was to this effect:

"Twenty-seven sail of the line, fifteen frigates,

1839. and several transports, with thirty thousand troops on board, were to sail to the East Indies and seize upon the capitals of the three Presidencies."

The Duke added that this intelligence was not to be altogether despised. He did not believe that the invasion would be attempted, but that something might be undertaken if the fleet sailed for the East. It might take the Cape of Good Hope; more probably it would go into the Mediterranean, and thence into the Dardanelles, in virtue of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.

The Duke's note was short, but quite in his own earnest style, and worth pages of ordinary correspondence.

No one seemed to think that the Emperor of Russia really contemplated so rash a design. It was agreed that Palmerston should write to Lord Clanricarde, and desire him to employ a little secret-service money, and find out whether such a design had really been entertained; also to learn something about the English aide-de-camp in Russia, who had communicated the story.

I dined this day at General Sebastiani's with a large party—more than thirty. For a wonder we had a few ladies—Lady Holland, Lady Howick, and Lady Minto.

I sat next to Lord Holland, and never found him more agreeable. He told me many things of Canning, and said Canning's first wish was to go to China with Lord Macartney. He was refused, and was very angry. His patrimony

was about £300 a year, which he soon spent. 1839.
Lord Holland was one of the party at which Canning had made formal renouncement of his Whig friends and Whig principles. Afterwards, when Canning was Secretary of State, he gave an official passport to Lord Holland, and wrote a private letter to him, at the same time, begging him not to give out that he (Lord Holland) spoke the opinions of the Government. Lord Holland thought this, from an old friend, much misplaced, and wrote to Canning to tell him so. They did not see much of each other afterwards; but, when Canning was going to India, he dined two or three times at Holland House. Lord Holland then expressed his surprise that Canning should leave England; when Canning said that he saw Reform would be carried, and he did not like to engage in a hopeless opposition. He added that, if he ever proposed a measure of Parliamentary Reform, it would be so as not to leave power to any party or section of the aristocracy. Mr. Canning had no fear of the encroachments of Royalty in our country; his dislike was of the aristocracy.

Lord Holland told me that what I had heard of Mr. Fox's early practice of frequently speaking in the House of Commons was quite true; and he added that the father, Henry Fox, said he had never repented of having spoken, but had often repented of having been silent. Lord Bacon gave exactly the opposite advice,

1839. FROM DIARY.

Lord Holland told me some curious anecdotes of Lord Egremont, and when I said I had never seen him, replied, "You have often seen some one very like him," meaning our master Melbourne. The day Lord Egremont came of age a great dinner was given by his guardian. The guests were in court dresses, and the young man was so annoyed at the prospect of sitting out the feast that he slunk under the arm of the servant who was putting on the top dish, and ran out of the house.

Lord Holland remarked on the religious turn of our young men, and said, "There are two of our colleagues opposite, the most rising young men of the day. They are both very serious; I am afraid to talk before them"—meaning Howick and Morpeth. Lord Holland told me he had never been to church in London in his life. His opinions are well known, or I should not put this down.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

March 10.—Some friends dined with me, amongst whom was Sir Francis Chantrey. He was particularly pleasing, and, indeed, instructive. He was very civil to Waghorn, the half-crazy but persevering promoter of our Egyptian correspondence, and when Waghorn complained of neglect, because he had not been made a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, Chantrey said, "You are fifty

times a greater man as you are! Fifty times greater! Look at me—I am somebody; but such as I am, I made myself, and, luckily, never had a patron.” 1839.

On March 17 I dined at Lord Holland's. After dinner Lady Keith¹ gave me some sketches of the French “notables” of the day. I found that her leanings were for Thiers, in preference to Guizot—he was more English in his tendencies; Count Flahault told me the same.

March 18.—The House of Commons was occupied with the fifth night's debate on the Corn-laws. We divided about midnight, and we had a smaller number in the minority than I had calculated upon—being only 195 to 342. This was the first serious struggle to get rid of the Corn-laws; and, although the merit—such as it was—was afterwards claimed for Mr. Cobden, and claimed by no less a man than Sir Robert Peel, that merit belonged to Charles Villiers.

FROM DIARY.

March 23.—As I was passing through Grafton Street, I heard a rap at the window of the corner house but one, and saw young Alfred Montgomery and his pretty sister, with Brougham, nodding

¹ Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, of Banheath, co. Dumbarton, Baroness Nairne and Keith, born 1788, married 1817, Augustus Charles Joseph, Comte de Flahault de la Billardrie, sometime French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. She died 1867. Her eldest daughter married, as his second wife, Henry, fourth Marquess of Lansdowne.

1839. and winking to me to come in. I went to the door, which was opened to me by Brougham, who had a velvet cap and gold tassel on his head. He shook hands and brought me in, laughing heartily, to show me the Chancellor's purse, which he said he had been scouring up for the occasion. He afterwards showed me some pictures and prints, and pieces of sculpture, and took me upstairs to see his drawing-rooms, and my lady's bed-chamber, and told me he had taken the house for twenty-one years. He was full of humour and good-humour, and took me downstairs to the door to shake hands again. He is surely not an accountable man. The Speaker told me that, after all Brougham's bad conduct to John Murray, our Lord Advocate, he was the first person to write a letter of condolence to Murray when his son died.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

This day, March 31, Lord Palmerston gave a diplomatic dinner to receive Marshal Clausel, one of the best Generals, as I had been given to understand, who commanded the French in the Peninsular War. Lord Palmerston introduced me to him; he was a large, coarse-featured, but pleasing-looking man.

I heard some of his talk, which related chiefly to his Spanish campaigns. He said that Massena was too old when he marched to resist the English in Portugal. He was about sixty; but that did

not prevent him from riding at the door of the carriage which contained his mistress, a very young and very pretty woman, of whom he was very jealous, so said the Marshal. 1839.

April 3.—Dining at Holland House with Lord and Lady Lansdowne, and Rogers, and Luttrell, I found my lady in great alarm at our prospects of the 15th of the month; and I told her I had no comfort for her. Indeed, the result of the conflict between the great parties was still very uncertain, and a portion of our friends, represented by the *Morning Chronicle*, were still doing all in their power to upset us, by calling upon us to rally all Reformers around us, by declaring for Triennial Parliaments, the Ballot, and Household Suffrage—a declaration that would have put us in a minority of 70 or 100 in the House of Commons, and would not add to our supporters in the country.

Then would follow the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, backed by both Houses of Parliament, and all the great interests and professional bodies; but hampered by Ireland, and subject to an outbreak in our manufacturing districts. This, to me, appeared the certain result of our declaring in favour of a larger measure of Parliamentary Reform, our own Bill of 1832 having been in operation not quite seven years.

April 5.—Cabinet on Canada Bill. We agreed easily on the outline of our measure—a union of the two provinces, the terms of that union to

1839. be settled by Commissioners, but the general principles to be laid down in our Bill. Lord Normanby, our new Colonial Secretary, went through the provisions of the Bill with a speed and precision which promised well for us, if our Ministerial lives should be spared.

On April 15 I received Mr. Peacock,¹ Chief Examiner of Correspondence at the India House, but more known to me as the author of "Headlong Hall," and other similar works of fiction. He was in politics a strong Conservative; but he was pleased to say of me, when he heard of our very precarious tenure of office, that he should consider my retirement from the India Board a public calamity. As I had not conferred any favour on Mr. Peacock, and as he was, in no way, dependent upon me or my official friends, I considered this token of his approbation to be highly satisfactory.

April 18.—It was a most agreeable interlude to me to attend the wedding of Lord Douro and Lady Elizabeth Hay. The ceremony took place at St. George's, Hanover Square. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Cowley, and Lord Maryborough were present; and the service was read by Dr.

¹ Thomas Love Peacock (1785-1866), author of several novels and volumes of verse: "Headlong Hall," "Nightmare Abbey," "Paper-money Lyrics," etc.

My intercourse with that most accomplished scholar, and most amiable man, has been one of the principal charms and resources of my declining years. It was but the other day that he was dying; my next news of him was that he was dead, January 23, 1866. (B.)



8TH MARCHIONESS OF TWEEDDALE, *née* LADY SUSAN MONTAGU.

From a miniature painting by Madame Renaud in 1827.

1839.

Wellesley. The vestry was crowded by the relations and connections of the two families. During the ceremony I stood next to the Duke of Wellington; and the Vestry-clerk, recalling to mind old Westminster days, remarked to me afterwards, how little probable such an alliance was in former times. There was a great crowd in the church and in the streets. The Duke was much cheered; so was the bride. I signed the marriage-register. Afterwards I took my daughter to the marriage breakfast given by Lord Tweeddale, in Belgrave Square, where some hundred and fifty relations and connections and friends were assembled, and paid their homage to the Duke. He was led in a sort of triumph round the room by the fair mother, the Marchioness, still lovely. The bride was indisposed, and could not appear; but at the marriage she was a most lovely creature, just eighteen. I carried her on my back at Florence, in 1828.

It was on occasion of this wedding-breakfast that, for the first time, and, as I then thought, probably for the last time, I shook hands with the Duke of Wellington.

FROM DIARY.

April 24.—In the evening of this day I went to an assembly at Lansdowne House. The Queen dined there; and those Ministers, who, like myself, did not dine there, met Her Majesty in the tea-

1839. room previously to her going into the music-room. H.M. came up to me, and signified her wish to have some Arab horses procured for her at Bombay. I promised to do this. As P. Thompson and myself had come in at one door, and some of our colleagues at another, the Queen, good-humouredly, alluded to the circumstance, on which I ventured to beg Her Majesty not to apprehend therefrom any serious division amongst her servants, as we had agreed to make that "an open question." H.M. condescended to laugh heartily at this small attempt at pleasantry.

Lord Lansdowne took the Queen into the music-room, and the concert began. Grisi, Persiani, Rubini, and Lablache were the principal performers.

I saw Lord Durham for the first time since his return, and resolved he should not pass without a recognition, so I asked him how he was, and held out my hand, which he took rather formally, and we parted. He has no reason to complain of me, but I have great reason to complain of him. Were the reverse the case I would not have spoken to him first.

Peel was very smiling and gracious, and has been so of late; but he is an awkward, shy fellow, almost as much so as myself. I never saw so many beautiful women in one room in my life; but what is that to me? Except that it pleases and harmonises and affords an agreeable contrast to the sights and sounds of public life.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1839.

This day, April 27, I met my friend Ellice at dinner; Lord and Lady Sudeley, and Lady Marcus Hill, were of the party; and Ellice, for some reason or other, fell foul of the Cabinet, and of their management of the party, and particularly of the Press. He then told us how he had carried all before him in Lord Grey's time. Not wishing to quarrel, I did not remind him that what he called his management had ended in the breaking-up of the Cabinet in the first instance, and afterwards in the breaking-up of our majority of two hundred. I did venture to say that, after all, we had lasted longer than Lord Grey's Cabinet, whereat he grew furious, and said that was "no merit of our own." Afterwards, he was a little pacified, and said that we were the best men that could be procured at the time; also, that we were good Heads of Departments, and, adding civilly, that Lord Palmerston and myself had managed Eastern affairs admirably.

Walking down to the India Board on May 3, I saw the Queen with her ladies, in three open carriages, without guards, going to the Exhibition in Trafalgar Square. No notice was taken of Her Majesty; there was no cheering, there was not even a crowd. The drawing-room, the day before, had been very thinly attended, and was over in thirty-six minutes. This was said at the time to be one of the schemes adopted by our political opponents for disgusting the Queen with her

1839. Ministers. Such was the rumour of the day ; but whether it had any real foundation I had no means of knowing.

In these days of fierce party struggles and close divisions nothing was thought of but parliamentary numbers ; and well do I recollect that, when Poulett Thompson's brother was drowned in the Thames, near Marlow, the only reflection which that catastrophe called for from our Secretary of the Treasury was, " And so we shall lose two votes." No one who has not been engaged in the fight knows how much of human happiness may depend upon a single life ; and this is true almost as much of the battles of Parliament as of the casualties of war.

At a Cabinet on May 7 Lord Melbourne opened our proceedings. His opinion was that the smallness of our majorities, and the evident intention of the Radicals to desert us, made it necessary that we should resign. Russell stated the same opinion very strongly. After some talk we all said RESIGN.

We now discussed in what terms the announce- of our resignation should be made. I said, " Say as little as you can of the past, and nothing of the future." This raised a laugh ; and Russell said, " Hobhouse is always for silence." Lord Melbourne, however, agreed with me, and so it was resolved. The Cabinet separated, apparently for the last time, and we left the old room, as we then thought, never to return to it.

As I was leaving the House of Commons after Russell's announcement of our resignation, I said to Colonel Sibthorp, "You ought to be pleased." "Yes," said the Colonel, "if I was quite sure it was over with you; but we have scotched the snake, not killed it."

I walked away with Lord Palmerston, who agreed with me our resignation was brought about less by external than by internal causes—jealousies, discontents, weariness in one leader, laziness in another. I asked him if he intended to give his announced dinner to the Grand-duke (the Czarevitch). "To be sure," he answered. "What! lose my place, and my dinner too?"

I dined the next day, accordingly, at the Foreign Office. The banquet was exceedingly well got up. The guests were about fifty in number; several pretty women were amongst them. Palmerston contrived that the Czarevitch should hand the lovely Lady Seymour to dinner, and sit beside her. I thought that, at first, H.I.H. was shy and subdued; but his fair neighbour plied him with smiles, and a few glasses of champagne relaxed his round, chubby, Calmuck cheeks. His little eyes began to twinkle, and at last he was completely subdued. The Czarevitch was not a handsome man, nor had a good expression; but he could not be called plain. He had a good figure, above the middle height, and his manners seemed gracious. I heard that he expressed himself much gratified by Her Majesty's reception of him. Mr. de

1839. Tolstoi, his Chamberlain, mentioned this to Lord Albemarle, from whom I heard it. I could not help looking at him with much interest as the future master of so many millions of men and of so large a portion of the habitable globe.

Pozzo di Borgo was present, and gave me a very ceremonious shake of the hand, showing he was not unacquainted with the fate of the Government. Lord Durham was also there, and we exchanged a few words. I noted nothing else of this banquet, except that we were visited by a violent thunderstorm that shook the old building, and which, as some one remarked, boded no good to the new Ministry.

The next day, March 9, I saw Lord Melbourne, who said, "There's a hitch"; and he explained this by adding that Peel had insisted upon having the nomination of the Ladies of the Household. Her Majesty refused this; and then Sir Robert, and the Duke of Wellington, had urged this concession, but the Queen still refused; and Peel and the Duke withdrew, Peel undertaking to give a final answer in the evening; "And so," said Lord Melbourne, "you need not take any steps about India yet; for if Peel will not go on, we shall be sent for.

I dined at Lord Wilton's in Grosvenor Square. After dinner a note was brought in for Lord Liverpool, and shortly afterwards another note was brought in to Lord Sydney. There was a good deal of tittering amongst the ladies at the

table; but more commotion was excited when a note was brought to me, with "Melbourne," and "Immediate," on the cover of it. Lady Wilton exclaimed "Bless me!" and made some remarks about the oddity of three messengers arriving whilst the family were at dinner. Lady Wilton added, "I know to whom the real note is addressed." I looked at my note, and found it to be a Cabinet summons to meet at ten o'clock the same evening in South Street. 1839.

When I arrived at South Street Lord Melbourne told us all that had passed between the Queen, Sir Robert Peel, and the Duke of Wellington. H.M. had insisted that no interference should be permitted with her female household. Sir Robert Peel consented that Lord Liverpool should hold a high office in the household, and he promised to name no lady who might not be acceptable to Her Majesty. He only urged the removal of certain political ladies, as a proof of Her Majesty's confidence, which, he said, was indispensable to enable him to carry on the business of Government in a Parliament where he had not a majority, and which he did not intend, in the first instance, to dissolve.

The Queen still insisted on the uncontrolled appointment of her ladies, and the negotiation was broken off by Sir Robert Peel saying that he would consult his friends before he gave a final answer. His friends were unanimously of opinion that he could not undertake the Government upon

1839. the terms proposed by Her Majesty; accordingly, he resigned the commission. The Queen told Sir Robert she would do nothing hastily in a matter of so much importance, and would reconsider the proposal, and give Sir Robert a final answer by twelve o'clock the next day. It was under these circumstances that the Queen had called for the opinion of Lord Melbourne and his late colleagues.

Lord John Russell spoke most strongly in favour of standing by the Queen, and decried Peel for his unmanly conduct. Our late Lord Chancellor observed that a good deal depended on the exact terms of the proposal; others then began to hesitate. On this, Melbourne brought two letters addressed to him by the Queen, and read them to us. They gave an account of her interview with Peel and the Duke of Wellington; H.M. said that when she resisted in respect to her ladies Peel was taken aback at once. She had never seen a man so perturbed. She added, if she consented to it, she might be deprived of her friends one by one, even to her dressers, and be surrounded by spies. She remarked that she flattered herself Lord Melbourne would be pleased with the manner in which she had conducted her controversy with Peel and the Duke; and then Lord Melbourne gave his opinion that Her Majesty had shown as much knowledge of the subject under discussion as either Peel or the Duke.

The reading of these letters gave a new spirit

to our waverers; and even Howick and Rice 1839.
owned that it was impossible to abandon such a Queen, and such a woman, and that all we had to do was to put the question in such a position as to make it most becoming to the character and position of Her Majesty.

Lord Lansdowne drew up a letter stating that H.M. had duly considered Sir Robert Peel's proposal, which she believed was contrary to usage, and which was most repugnant to her feelings. It was settled that Lord Melbourne should read this to the Queen, and recommend the adoption of it by Her Majesty.

Russell told me that when he first mentioned to the Queen our intention of resigning she cried bitterly, and would not come downstairs in the evening afterwards.

On May 10 it was officially announced that Peel had resigned. The streets were crowded, and every one seemed in an anxious bustle. I met several Conservative acquaintances, who seemed stupefied; amongst them Burdett, who asked me if the story was true, and, hearing my answer, began to abuse Peel for falling into the same stupid blunder as the Whigs in 1812, in quarrelling about the court ladies. My old friend, however, was wrong there; the ladies had nothing to do with the rupture in 1812. A little later in the day I heard Lord Melbourne had positively returned to office.

I went in the evening to the State Ball given

1839 by the Queen to the Czarevitch, and saw him dance in a quadrille with Her Majesty. The young lady looked in high spirits, and was most cordial and attentive to such of us as came near her. Sir Robert Peel was very civil to me, and Sir James Graham shook hands. Lord Stanley was more cross and rude than usual with him; he told me he did not believe we knew what had really taken place between the Queen and Sir Robert Peel, thus implying that Her Majesty had misrepresented the conversations. He said that the House of Commons, on Monday, would not put up with the silence that had satisfied the Lords, and he threatened a warm debate.

From the angry, disappointed politician, I took refuge with a beautiful creature whose husband was to have been in the upper ranks of the household if the change had taken place. She was not at all less amiable than usual.

We had another Cabinet meeting on May 11, when we discussed again the difference between the Queen and Sir Robert Peel. The Queen told the Duke of Wellington that it was paying her a very ill compliment to suppose that her ladies gave her advice on political matters. They did no such thing; they were her domestic companions, nothing more.

Lord Melbourne confirmed this, and said that the Queen looked with the greatest alarm at the prospect of being reduced to the state of thralldom,

in which she had lived before her accession to the throne, when she was watched and kept aloof from all her private friends. 1839.

Lord Howick still proposed to give Peel another trial, and afford him a chance of reopening the negotiation with H.M. . . . Lord John Russell said no earthly power should induce him to hand over the Queen to Peel; the Queen had said to him, "I have stood by you, do you stand by me!" and would he desert such a woman? I expressed myself very strongly in the same sense, and said that I would sooner cut my hand off than sign such a negotiation. Lord John told us that we might do as we liked; but that, if we gave the advice to return to Sir Robert Peel, the Queen would not send for him, nor for the Duke of Wellington, but to some one else. Lord Melbourne said that the Queen had said the same to him.

Lord John Russell then drew up a minute expressive of our opinion on the question of interference with the ladies of the Queen's household, and declaring in the Queen's favour.

In the evening of this day I dined with Lord Sudeley. Amongst the guests was a very pretty woman—Lady Marcus Hill,¹ with whom I became somewhat intimate, and who honoured me with a visit more than once at Erle Stoke. She was

¹ Lord Arthur Marcus Hill, son of the second Marquess of Downshire, succeeded his mother in the Sandys peerage. Married, in 1837, Louisa, daughter of Joseph Blake, Esq.

1839. the sister of a gentleman possessed of estates in America, and whose family was descended from one of the great men to whom we are indebted for the renown and prosperity of this wonderful community.

At this dinner I heard an anecdote connected with a very remarkable man and his son, a still more famous person. W. J. Denison, M.P. for Surrey, told us that he had heard from Lord Abinger that, being one night at the playhouse, he met the father of the late Sir Robert Peel, who said to him: "There is my eldest son; he is just come from Harrow. What shall I do with him? Shall I send him to Milk Street to conduct my business? Or shall I do as some people advise me to do—send him to Oxford and make a fine gentleman of him?" Scarlett advised Sir Robert to send his son to Oxford. We know the result.

On May 13 I went to the House of Commons at five o'clock. A crowd was assembled at the doors and in the lobbies, and soon after I had come in I heard much shouting, which was continued in the body of the House as Lord John Russell walked up to his place—his old place—as Leader of the House. The House was exceedingly full. Some petitions were presented. Peel then came in, and took his usual seat. Russell several times looked at the clock, and a little after five rose and said a few words, which Peel interrupted by suggesting that, as the after-

noon was dark, it would be better to wait until the candles were lighted, on which Russell sat down. The lighting of the candles occupied a long time. 1839.

The Grand-duke of Russia and his suite were under the gallery, and every part of the House was quite full; every one seemed vexed at the delay and at the boggling of the candle-lighters. The two principal performers, Peel and Russell, had an appearance of much anxiety, particularly Peel, who looked red and white alternately. The candles being lighted, Russell again rose, and stated that Peel had Her Majesty's permission to explain all the circumstances connected with the late negotiations, and that, after Peel had done this, he should make whatever remarks he might judge to be requisite.

Then Peel rose and made his statement, which was accurately reported in the newspapers. But any one acquainted with the facts, or even comparing one part of his statement with the other, might have exposed him much more than Russell did, or perhaps wished to do. Nothing could be more tricky than his professed unwillingness to bring forward his own impressions against an absent party, and at the same time reading his own letter to the Queen, which conveyed his own impressions, and to which no answer was, or could be, given by the Queen; but Lord John Russell did not take advantage of this apparent contra-

1839. diction, nor of the weak parts of Peel's statement. He was more nervous than I ever recollected him to have been, and faltered and hesitated and repeated himself.

The next day I dined with Lady Mildmay. I met Sydney Smith, who, for some reason or the other, was very much out of sorts; he condescended, however, to be civil to me, and patted me on the back when I called the late Tory attempt at government the "Three Inglorious Days." This same evening Lord Melbourne made a short speech in the Lords, and merely said that he retained office to stand by the Queen; he made no promise of change of men or of measures. The Duke of Wellington did not acquit himself well; but, as usual with him, he told the truth. He confessed that Peel and he had insisted upon the complete disposal of the household, women as well as men; and he justified it. This quite made good the Queen's case.

May 27.—I dined this evening at the Trinity House. The Duke of Wellington, as Master, received the guests very civilly. I had a few words with him; also with Peel, who looked most unhappy in his uniform, which did not fit him, and which he seemed not to know whether to keep buttoned or unbuttoned.

The Duke of Wellington went through the business of the evening quietly and well, although with a feeble tone and manner. He

1839.

gave the toasts generally with a short preface. The company was evidently of a Tory complexion, and the name of the Queen-Dowager was better received than that of the Queen. The Duke gave the health of the Queen's Ministers in a short and appropriate speech, and it was not ill received. All this time I could not help remarking how sulky Sir Robert Peel looked; he seemed not to be attending to the business of the day, but turned his head frequently, as if looking at an empty bookcase behind him.

The Duke's health was most enthusiastically received, and "See the Conquering Hero comes!" sounded something more than a mere after-dinner compliment. Whilst this tune was being played, and we were all shouting, I could not help contemplating "the hero of a hundred fights" as if for the last time. I remarked that, in the many allusions made to him, nothing offensively flattering was said; only once was he called a great man.

On June 5 I went to the Levee, which was much crowded. From sixty to seventy addresses were presented to the Queen, thanking Her Majesty for her recent resistance to the demands of Sir Robert Peel; about sixteen addresses of a contrary character were presented to Her Majesty. Lord Melbourne seemed to me much out of sorts, and, indeed, Duncannon told me that he was greatly distressed.

1839. *June 6.*—I dined this day with the Hollands, and went in the evening to the Countess Grey's assembly, which I had not done for some time, as the good man disliked the Melbourne Administration. He was very civil, and so was my lady; but poor Lady Durham was not in her usual kind mood, resenting, I presumed, what she thought the ill-treatment of her husband by a formal bow.

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CHAPTER VI

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1839.

On June 9 I again dined at Holland House. Macaulay told us that the London watchmen cried, "Past one o'clock, and Quebec taken." The British public then were in great want of a victory, and the watchman's cry was occasionally mingled with news handed to him by some wag. I heard that the cry at the West End, which once frightened the old ladies was, "Past one o'clock, and a dreadful earthquake!" This was just after the earthquake at Lisbon.

Lord and Lady Normanby, and Ellice, and Baron Moncorvo, came in the evening to Holland House; and Ellice drove several of the company away by complaining vehemently that the Cabinet never took his advice about Canada, although he knew more about Canada than all the Cabinet put together.

On June 12 I dined at Sir John Guest's, where there was a large party to meet the Duke of Sussex. The good man was formal with me, and would scarcely speak to P. Thompson; but he was civil enough to Lord Lansdowne, as if the rejection of his claim was the work only of the members of the Cabinet who belonged to the House

1839. of Commons. We had music in the evening, and Grisi sang.

June 14.—This evening Stanley made a most furious speech against our Education scheme, and Lord Ashley poured forth fanatical denunciations such as I had not yet heard in Parliament. I heard he was certainly sincere, and concluded he must be mad. But I was not then aware of the effects produced by religious enthusiasm upon very good, and, in all other respects, very sensible men.

On June 20 I dined at the Duke of Wellington's, and, going there early, found him alone. We walked about the room together, talking on Indian matters, and, more particularly, on the claim put forward by the agents of Lady Hastings for a share of the Deccan booty. He characterised this as infamous, and told me that he had written a second memorandum on the subject, which he thought would settle the question. He told me that his definition of booty was, "WHAT YOU COULD LAY YOUR BLOODY HAND UPON AND KEEP"; and he suited the action to the word, by putting his outstretched hand on the table, repeating his saying more than once in his peculiar fashion.

The company began to arrive, and the Duke introduced me to some of them. The Tweeddales were there, and the James Hays; the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, the Duchess of Beaufort, Lord and Lady Wilton, General Pakenham¹; in

¹ Sir Hercules Pakenham, 1781-1850, served with distinction in the Peninsular War.

1839.

all, about thirty-six. Lord Douro was there, but the bride not. He seemed a good-natured, lively, rather rough-mannered man; and his conversation, considering that I never spoke to him but once before, was more free than some would like; but I augured well of him. He told me that his wife had £50,000 worth of jewels on her at the Queen's Court this day; and that, as soon as she took them off, he put them in a chest, and carried them off to a place of safety.

We dined in the room in which the portraits of the Allied Sovereigns were hung up. The plate on the table was a present from the Portuguese Government, and the inscriptions upon it recorded some feat of the great soldier—at least, so I was told. Everything was historical in this "House of Fame." The Duke seemed in good health and spirits; he rose from the table about ten o'clock and went into the drawing-room, where I had not an opportunity of talking to him, except when I took my leave of him. He was then exceedingly courteous, and thanked me for coming to him.

On June 23 I dined with Lord Palmerston. Talking of Huskisson, he said he was the most undecided man he had ever known. During the East Retford debate, he continued talking to Palmerston in this fashion: "What shall I do? I wish I knew what to do; shall I vote for or against?" Some one had made a speech in favour of the disfranchisement which appeared con-

1839. clusive, and Palmerston told Huskisson he should vote for it; but Huskisson still hesitated. "The AYES to the right, the NOES to the left." Huskisson still said, "What shall I do?" "Stay where you are," said Lord Palmerston, and, accordingly he did stay; but Palmerston told me that, if Huskisson had had to move, instead of sitting still, he would have voted the other way. I remarked that Huskisson lost his life by indecision.

Another remarkable man of that day was equally undecided. Lord Palmerston told me that, after he and Huskisson had resigned, he walked down Parliament Street with Lord Dudley. Palmerston endeavoured to persuade him to resign. Lord Dudley at last said, "I should like to ask that man what I ought to do, and be decided by him." He pointed to a porter who was coming out of Downing Street. He did not decide until he had waited two days more, and then he resigned. This day Palmerston told me what I had often heard stoutly denied, that Perceval did offer the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to the clever gentleman known at that time by the name of "Orator Milnes," and, on his refusal, offered the place to him (Palmerston); but he also refused it, and took the place of Secretary-at-War. Lord Palmerston added that this offer was so much anticipated at the time that, when Milnes was walking down the House after the division, Jack Fuller, the

buffoon of those days, walked before him roaring out, "Make way for the Chancellor of the Exchequer." 1839.

FROM DIARY.

June 26.—At the Levee to-day many addresses were presented to H.M., some of rather a Conservative complexion, which the Queen did not receive very graciously, and I remarked particularly her stately look and pouting under-lip when the Duke of Rutland, Lord Winchilsea, and Sir Francis Burdett brought up their addresses. To our friends she was all smiles and civilities. This difference was not observable until after recent events, and is natural considering the gross and vulgar personal abuse of H.M. in the Tory papers.

Dining at Lord Hatherton's on this day, June 26, I met a gentleman who had given much help to our Chancellor of the Exchequer in preparing the Reform Bill. This was Lieutenant Drummond.¹ He seemed to me a very clever and a very agreeable man. He was now Irish Under-Secretary, and had come over to England to give evidence before the Lords' Committee on Irish outrages. He told me their Lordships could not make out their case against Lord Normanby, although Brougham had tried to bully the witnesses;

¹ Thomas Drummond, born 1797, entered R.E. 1815, was head of the Boundary Commission in connection with the Reform Bill in 1832, and Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle from 1835 till his death in 1840.

1839. amongst them was Sir William Somerville,¹ who turned upon him, and forced him to apologise for his rudeness.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On June 27 I dined at the Palace. The party was very small, as Lord Melbourne was detained in the Lords, and Spring Rice, who had been invited, was obliged to be present in the Commons. The Duke of Argyll had the gout. Her Majesty was handed to dinner by Lord Byron, and sat between him and another Lord-in-waiting. Charles Howard and myself were the only guests. The Duchess of Kent was not present; she was unwell, and was said to be taking care of Lady Flora Hastings.

The Queen behaved with her usual pleasing civility, and, after dinner, two young children, sons of the Princess Leiningen, who was at table, came into the room and romped and played about, and kissed the Queen's hands, and she kissed them, and laughed heartily at their little sports, and encouraged them. When we came into the drawing-room I had a long conversation with her. She was more than usually kind and condescending, asking after my children, and praising their cousin, Lady Douro's, beauty.

I doubt whether any one that sat on the throne

¹ Sir William M. Somerville was M.P. for Drogheda 1837-52, and Chief Secretary for Ireland 1847-52; was raised to the Peerage in 1863 as Baron Athlumny and Meredyth.

had a more intuitive and cautious sense, not only of the duties, but the decencies of Sovereignty, than the Lady to whom Providence has entrusted the Government of this vast Empire. Nor had she, in the beginning of her reign, by any means an easy task. She was, on the evening in question, not in good spirits; Lord Melbourne's arm-chair was unoccupied, and she spoke very little during the evening. Miss Davies, one of the women of the bedchamber, told me that she was much annoyed at what had passed, and was passing, at the Palace; but bore up, with royal courage, against all the calumnies to which the Hastings affair had given rise. 1839.

An article in the *Quarterly Review*,¹ said to be written by Croker, charged H.M. with having said what was not true in regard to her negotiations with Sir Robert Peel, and with systematic deceit in her dealings with Sir Robert; whereas Lord Melbourne told me H.M.'s real fault was dealing too openly with that clever personage, by which she irritated him more than was necessary. For example, she said: "You tell me you have great difficulty in carrying on the Government. Why, then, add to your difficulties by the strong measure proposed in dismissing my ladies?"

¹ The article in the *Quarterly Review* for June 1839, on "The Household and the Ministry," was written by J. W. Croker. It gives a minute account of the negotiations in what is known as the "Bedchamber Question," but contains no word of attack upon, or insinuation against, Queen Victoria. The negotiations are said "to exhibit most unequivocal marks of puzzle and intrigue" on the part of H.M.'s advisers.

1839. At our next Cabinet we resolved that the misrepresentation in regard to the conduct of the Queen, in her late negotiations with Sir Robert Peel, should be answered in the *Edinburgh Review* with the notice that the answer came from authority.

This same day I went to the Opera, to hear Grisi and see Taglioni.

I saw Lord Tweeddale at the India Board on July 2, and asked him if he would like to go as Commander-in-Chief to India. He answered that he would go anywhere that the Queen commanded him to go. We settled that he should see the Duke of Wellington and request him to see me on the subject.

I dined afterwards at Lord Zetland's, where I met the Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Albemarle, and one or two others. I afterwards went to the Opera to see Taglioni dance.

The next day I called on the Duke of Wellington. He put me into a chair opposite to himself, and, leaning close to me, with his hand to his ear, listened to what I had to say quietly and seriously. I asked him whether he thought the rule of service might be dispensed with in choosing a Commander-in-Chief for India. He answered that he thought it of great importance to observe the order of rank on all occasions where it was practicable; but that rules were made to do good, not to do harm, and, if necessity required, they

ought to be put aside. He said that, when he was first chosen to command in Portugal, he was a young Lieutenant-General, and King George III. sent for him, and told him he did not like to take officers out of their rank, but, as his Ministers required it, he should do it.” 1839.

The Duke then got up, and brought the Army List, and ran down the names with his finger, until he came to Sir John Keane. The Duke then said, “They are all worn out above him; now let us look below”; and he stopped at the name of Lyons, and asked if that General would do. I said, I had inquired about him, and was told he would not do. The Duke replied, “Perhaps not”; and I then said that I wished to send a younger man than is now usually employed in great commands. The Duke said I was right, and added that what was wanted was comparative youth, and health, and character, both civil and military, for command in India. His Grace continued, “I speak frankly. I think the present business in Afghanistan, as to fighting, is settled, or nearly so; I think Sir John Keane¹ will do what he has to do there well; so I think of Cotton, whom I know well, and from whom I have seen a very good letter addressed to Lord Ellenborough; but I cannot say I think Keane fit for Commander-in-Chief permanently, and when matters come to be

¹ In 1839, Shah Soojah, the expelled ruler of Afghanistan, was restored to power by an English force under Sir John (afterwards Lord) Keane.

1839. arranged permanently, after the present advance has been concluded, I do not think he is the man for that. There must be great respectability for a Commander-in-Chief; he has a great deal of administration to conduct, and should have a high character. I do not think Keane will do."

I remarked to the Duke that perhaps Sir John Colborne might have been sent; but that there were objections. The Duke said, "You cannot spare him from Canada; he is an excellent soldier, but you cannot spare him." I expressed my doubts as to his administrative capacity, at which the Duke seemed surprised. I then mentioned the names of Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and Lord Tweeddale. The Duke took up the Army List again, and said that Hardinge was a very distinguished officer, and a Lieutenant-General perfectly competent to conduct a campaign. As for Lord Fitzroy, he thought very highly of him also; but he must say he did not think Lord Hill would part with him. In respect to Lord Tweeddale, he was at the bottom of the page, next to Lord Fitzroy. He was a young Major-General; but he had seen a great deal of service, both on the Staff in Spain, and afterwards in America, where he was badly wounded. He had a high character in every respect, and, no doubt, would answer the purposes required.

I put the question again to the Duke, "Did he think Lord Tweeddale would make a good Com-

mander-in-Chief?" The Duke replied, "Most assuredly." 1839.

I then asked him whether he would permit me to mention his opinion to Lord Hill. The Duke said that he would; that Lord Hill was in the habit of consulting him on military matters, and that he always gave him his views, without reserve; that he never interfered, but spoke only when spoken to. The Duke then added, "I have no objection to your telling Lord Hill what I have said; but management is everything in these matters, and I know people are jealous of their power, so I would recommend you to go over the whole matter with Lord Hill, without mentioning my name, and, if you obtain your object, so much the better; if not you can then refer to me, and I will say to him what I have said to you. The Duke repeated this to me more than once, and, after some more conversation on the duties of Commander-in-Chief, at this period in India, I rose, and, thanking him for his advice, took my leave. He was reserved, though civil, in his manner, and treated the visit as an official communication.

I went to Lord Melbourne and told him what had passed between us. He seemed pleased; he recommended me to go to Lord Hill directly.

I did so, and told Lord Hill that we must choose a Commander-in-Chief for India, and stated my views as to the necessity of breaking through the rule of seniority, and if that was to

1839, be done we might as well take a young Major-General as an old one. To this Lord Hill assented; but he named General Adam, to whom I objected at once, as having tried to bargain for a residence in the Upper Provinces, on account of his health. Lord Hill then said something about Lord Combermere; but added that he would not go. I remarked he should not go if he would. I then mentioned Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and Lord Tweeddale. I added that, if politics prevented Hardinge from going, and Fitzroy could not be spared at the Horse-Guards, I thought Tweeddale might go. I mentioned what I heard of him; without, however, saying anything of the Duke of Wellington's opinion of him, nor mentioning that I had consulted him on the subject. To my surprise, Lord Hill did not object, confessed Tweeddale's fitness and services, and ended by saying he would consider the proposal with reference to the three officers, and to Tweeddale in particular.

I wrote a few lines to the Duke of Wellington, stating that, as I had found Lord Hill so tractable, I had not mentioned his Grace's name, nor brought the weight of his authority to bear on the Commander-in-Chief.

On the evening of July 5 our Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his Budget, and announced his Penny Postage scheme, which Sir Robert Peel announced he should oppose.

The next day the Factory Bill was in Committee.

Our friend Slaney, as usual, proposed a middle course on some question; on which Lord Stanley wrote a note to me, and told me that Canning had said of Wilberforce that, if one man said the shortest way to Kensington was through the Park, and another man declared for the road, Wilberforce would say that the shortest way was along the top of the wall.

I went to a Cabinet, where Lord John Russell told us what had happened in the riots at Birmingham, and threw out that we might have to propose a Seizure of Arms Bill; but Lord Holland was against this measure, so was Lord Howick, so also was I. Lord Melbourne took the same view, and then Russell gave way, saying, at the same time, if disturbances took place during the long holidays he should propose to call Parliament together and resign the seals.

Amongst the other unpleasant occurrences of this day, I must record that Lord Hill called on me and told me that he had seen the Duke of Wellington, and was acquainted with my visit to him. He added that it had been agreed between him and the Duke that he should write to his Grace, and send him a table of precedents, as he called it, on the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in India, and that the Duke should then give a formal opinion upon the question. At this I was not a little surprised, and I said that the great interests of our Empire were not to be regulated by precedents. Lord Hill then said

1839. that he should prefer leaving Sir John Keane in command until the end of the campaign, and then supersede him, and make Sir Jasper Nicolls Commander-in-Chief. I replied that I would not consent to that arrangement; I would wait for the Duke of Wellington's opinion; but I protested against the rule of seniority, and I would not be a party to observing it at great risk to our best interests in India.

Lord Tweeddale called on me the next day. He told me that he had seen the Duke of Wellington, who had received the announced memorandum from the Horse-Guards, and was about to write his comments upon it. But it was clear to me, by what I now heard, that his Grace had changed his mind, and was not prepared to support a junior Major-General to command in India. *Inde omnis effusus labor.* I was exceedingly vexed at this. I regretted that I had consulted the Duke. I regretted that, if I did consult him, I had not brought his authority immediately to bear. I regretted also that I had, to a certain degree, compromised myself, by attempting to do what I thought right, and failing in a way which might appear wrong.

We had a very long talk together, and Lord Tweeddale confessed that I had occasion to complain of the Duke, as well as of Lord Hill, for not telling me their opinions at once. Of the Duke, Lord Tweeddale said he was not the man he had been. Of Lord Hill, he said that he was

the man he always had been. Lord Tweeddale 1839.
concluded by offering, very handsomely, to accept some inferior command in India. He said he had made up his mind to take that step; and, if necessary, to leave his wife, from whom he had not been separated for twenty-two years, in England. I replied that, so far as I was concerned, he should go to India as Commander-in-Chief, or not at all; and I advised him to consider the matter as at an end. I recorded this transaction at greater length than usual for obvious reasons.

On July 11 I went to Buckingham Palace, to attend the Queen on her reception of the Lords' Address against our Educational Scheme.¹ There was a crowd at the gates, and, as my carriage drove through, several persons hissed and made faces, whilst others cheered and waved handkerchiefs. When I got to the Palace, I went to the balcony, where were some colleagues, who, I found, had met with the same sort of reception, particularly Russell and Howick. The Peers generally, including, of course, the Bishops, were much applauded; but the mob did not know what to do with our Lord Chancellor, who closed

¹ Since 1833 an annual grant of £20,000 had been made for educational purposes, and was divided between the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, as the larger part of the existing education was carried on by these Church Societies. This gave rise to complaint that the Church of England received more than her due. The new proposals were to increase the grant to £30,000 and to appoint a Committee of the Privy Council to administer it. In spite of much opposition this was done.

1839. the procession in his official robes. He carried the Address. We saw Cecil Forrester, on horseback, evidently directing the populace; and it was said that Messrs. Henry Baring, Bonham, and Ross were there, but I did not see them. The procession was long, and as many as a hundred Peers were present. The Duke of Wellington was not one of them. He said he would not lead a mob to the Palace.

When the Queen was seated on the throne the doors were opened, and the Peers walked forward. The Lord Chancellor read the long Address, and seemed to me to do so with as little effect as possible. He handed it to H.M., who gave it to Lord Melbourne, and Lord Melbourne then handed to the Queen her answer. The Queen placed it on her lap, and then read it, in a steady, audible voice, neither faltering, nor changing colour, nor laying too much stress on any part of it. She was perfectly calm and dignified, but I thought Lord Melbourne looked nervous when H.M. stated her regret at the Peers having taken this step. I saw one or two of the Bishops were startled a little; but the Archbishop of Canterbury looked like a saint or martyr, resigned to whatever might befall him. When the Lords had retired, I saw the Queen smile. She descended from her throne in great good-humour, and, when she saw Lord Lansdowne afterwards in her closet, she told him she had never seen so many Tories all together in her life before.

On retiring from the Palace we met with the same intermixture of sounds as had greeted us on our entrance. Amongst the most vehement of the hissers and groaners, I observed one or two of those who had for years stood by me on the Covent Garden hustings; and who, like the rest "of the crowd of Remus," have since returned to their allegiance.

The House of Commons was counted out on July 16, but in the Lords the Duke of Wellington made some intemperate remarks about the riots which occurred at Birmingham the night before, and which, to say the truth, were very serious, but hardly justified his Grace in saying that the town was in a state worse than if it had been taken by storm. He talked also of this once happy and peaceful England, forgetting in what a condition it was in 1830, when he himself was Prime Minister. Lord Melbourne replied to him, more angrily than usual; and Lord Lansdowne defended Lord John Russell, manfully, against an attack made on him by Lord Lyndhurst.

The following Wednesday Russell gave a temperate rebuke to the Duke of Wellington for the exaggerations of his recent speech, and promised an inquiry into the conduct of the Birmingham magistrates.

This day, July 20, I had a large dinner-party—the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company (Sir Robert Campbell and Mr. Russell Ellice), Sir John M'Neill, Lord Hill, Lord

1839. Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lord Methuen, Count Bjornstjerne, Lord John Russell, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Charles Wood. After dinner Lord Melbourne, Macaulay, and myself had a conversation which was interesting, both from the subject and from the able manner in which it was treated by Lord M. and Macaulay. It related to the character of the Nonconformists, and also to the spirit and temper of the clergy of our day. Lord Melbourne rather defended, and Macaulay rather attacked, the latter. I was surprised at the freedom with which Macaulay spoke on these subjects.

Amongst other things he told us of Henry Drummond,¹ that, for some time, he never sat down to dinner without a vacant place at his table, with a gold cup and salver before it. This was for the Shiloh. Melbourne said that Drummond was mad on that subject; and he observed that nothing was more foolish than to believe that a man might not be completely mad on one subject, particularly religion, and yet very sane, and worldly, and businesslike, on all others. Many men, remarked Lord Melbourne, were in that condition in the present day. Lord Melbourne then said he would not make a latitudinarian clergyman a Bishop. He would not make Dr. Arnold, who, he believed, was a Unitarian. The Attorney-General here observed that he himself was a Unitarian.

¹ The banker (born 1786) and, with Edward Irving, joint founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church, commonly known as the Irvingites.

1839.

They talked of Dr. Johnson, a subject with which Macaulay was familiar; and both he and Lord Melbourne said he was a very great man, and a very good man. The latter said that his faith was that of a man who tried to make himself believe in revelation, and could hardly succeed. In proof of this I quoted the famous saying of Johnson in favour of ghosts—that he should like to see one, in order to have additional evidence of the spiritual world.

The energy and volubility of Macaulay's talk were surprising, but somewhat overpowering. Lord Melbourne, however, seemed to listen to it with complacency, as if for instruction.

Dining early with my partners in Chiswell Street, I walked out, and saw what I had never seen before, the Artillery-ground, and also Bunhill Fields burying-ground—a most popular field of death. I read one or two most curious epitaphs; amongst them, one of Dame Mary Page, relict of Sir Gregory Page. The lady, it appeared, had died in 1728, and it was thought worthy of record that she had been tapped, for a dropsy, sixty-six times in sixty-seven months, and that 240 gallons of water were drawn from her.

On July 27, meeting Lord Falkland, one of our whips in the Lords, he told me that the real majority against us in that House was 130; and that Lord Redesdale, the Tory whip, had agreed with him to act upon honour, as it was called—that is, not to attempt any surprises or

1839. tricks, which, indeed, would have been superfluous for a party having such a majority in hand. This, Lord Falkland told me, made his work somewhat less troublesome than it would otherwise have been ; but it was still disagreeable enough.

FROM DIARY.

August 1.—At our Cabinet to-day Russell gave us an account of the state of the country. It seems that one or two of the Chartist leaders have sold themselves and communicate their correspondence to us. I believe Hetherington to be one. A letter to him from one Williams was read, in which the prospects of the Chartists were represented as bad so long as the middle classes were either adverse or neuter. But their numbers are favourable, and their leaders—some of them—determined enough. One of their modes of action is to fill a church and take possession of the pews before the owners come to their seats.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

At this time the Lords threw out our Portuguese Slave-trading Bill, which had passed unanimously and almost silently, in the Commons. The Duke of Wellington led the opposition to it, declaring he did not intend to divide upon the question. Lord Lyndhurst told me he had nothing to do with the business, but he was not a leader, he was led ; he was a private soldier, and did as he was bid. Brougham walked away, and pretended

he did not know there would be a vote on the subject. The next day he moved an Address to the Crown to instruct our naval authorities to put down the slave-trade! 1839.

At our next Cabinet we discussed what ought to be done on the rejection of the Portuguese Slave-trading Bill; and we resolved unanimously that the Queen should inform Parliament that she would issue orders to her naval commanders to seize slavers, and that application would be made to Parliament to carry these orders into full effect. This would obviate the objections of the Duke of Wellington, and would at the same time give due protection to the captors of the vessels.

August 5.—There was a ball at the Palace. I do not think the ladies danced well; and I thought they might have been more decorously dressed at the Court of a maiden Queen.

August 8.—This evening we were attacked by our Radical friends, and occasional supporters, T. Duncombe and Wakley, who were answered quietly but effectually by Russell. It was on this occasion that the Duke of Wellington said, on hearing that our leader had a host of opponents, "Yes, but Lord John Russell is a host in himself."

August 10.—At our Cabinet to-day Rice brought before us the state of the Bank of England, and told us that, if we had a bad harvest, we should be obliged to have recourse to a Bank Restriction Act. The Governor and Deputy Governor of

1839. the Bank, who had hitherto made light of their difficulties, now began to be frightened. However, the loan of £750,000 from the East India Company had given some assistance; and the funding three millions would do something more. Besides which the exchanges were improving, and the catastrophe might not occur.

The so-called Convention, alarmed, perhaps, by the conviction of the Chartist rioters, had given up their project of assembling at some sacred mount and remaining there until their grievances were redressed. The advice was good enough; but it remained to be seen whether it would be followed by the masses, who were to have had three days of processions and speeches. The day fixed for this was August 12. "God bless us," said Lord Melbourne; "why, that is the day after to-morrow; 'tis time for us to be looking about us."

I rode and walked, and dined with the Methuens, in Park Street—a pleasant party. Lord Melbourne was there. He was silent and absent at first, and talked a good deal to himself; but he got very agreeable afterwards.

Amongst other things, Melbourne expressed a strong preference for the Church of England as compared with other Christian sects. We then discussed the capacity and general power of Roebuck. Fonblanque and myself thought little of them; but Spring Rice and Campbell spoke very highly of him in that respect. Lord Mel-

bourne was much pleased when I said that he (Roebuck) spoke not to our heads, nor our hearts, but to our throats. This was quite true in those days; but the orator in question, like most of us, has been softened by age; and I will take this opportunity of adding that I was not an impartial judge. 1839.

In spite of "the prophet of ill," the next day, August 12, passed off quietly, although, such was the general impression, that a crowd in Kensington Gardens was mistaken for a Chartist meeting; whereas the good folks had come to see a Mr. Hampton descend from a parachute. The poor man fell into a tree, and was for a short time insensible; but he soon recovered, and was not much hurt.

On August 17 I dined at Holland House, and went afterwards to the Opera. It was the farewell night of the season, and the National Anthem was sung as usual, but received coldly.

August 21.—We had our ministerial fish dinner at Blackwall. The party was smaller than usual, and "the fun" not so "fast and furious" as I had sometimes found at this concluding feast. But we had some amusement for our money. The Lord-Advocate, Rutherford, accused Attorney-General Campbell of having caused the conviction of certain patriots, who were guilty of nothing but following his advice not to pay taxes; on which Campbell replied that in giving that advice he had followed the example of more

1839 than one of his masters there present; adding that, as to the convicts in custody, there was an easy way of relieving them—namely, to send Normanby on a mission to release them. At which there was a great laugh; but Normanby did not like the joke at all, and gave a serious explanation of what he had done in Ireland, which did not at all mend his case.

August 26.—We had a Council at Court. Lord Melbourne read the Queen's Speech to us. Her Majesty was very attentive to Lord Melbourne's reading. She did not look so strong as usual, but I thought her more interesting than ever. Lord Albemarle told me she had not been very well of late.

FROM DIARY.

August 27.—Prorogation of Parliament. The day was very fine, and the procession looked more gay than usual. The crowd was very orderly, but I heard very little acclamation. There was some waving of handkerchiefs, and H.M. seemed to watch for an opportunity to acknowledge the loyalty of her people. The *Chronicle* says her reception was enthusiastic; the Tory papers deny it. It is said one man attempted to hiss, and was knocked down at once. I heard no hissing, nor any word of the dissatisfaction which the *Post* and other papers have been prophesying would be shown, in order to deter the Queen from proroguing in person.

The Queen delivered her Speech admirably, but not in quite so strong a voice as usual. She laid an impressive emphasis on the passage relative to the suppression of the Slave-trade.

Leaving the House of Lords after the conclusion of the ceremonies, I met Lord Lyndhurst and his wife. He, as usual, was very civil. He congratulated me on the successes of our Indian army.¹ I thought him a wonderful man then, when he was only sixty-seven years old. He lived to be past ninety, and when I saw him had lost none of his intellectual vigour.

I dined in the evening at St. James's Palace. Melbourne, Palmerston, and P. Thomson were also there; as were Duke Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and his daughter. I sat next to the governess of the young Princess—a most agreeable lady—and had much talk with her. In the drawing-room the Queen came up to me and conversed some time. Lord Melbourne occupied his accustomed arm-chair next to the Queen.

August 29.—At our Council to-day Lord Normanby read the Minutes in so low a voice that Lord Melbourne turned to me and said, "He reads as if the secrets of the Privy Council were to be kept secret even from ourselves." The Queen overheard the remark, and burst into a laugh. H.M. continued to smile during the remainder of the proceedings.

¹ Kabul was captured and Shah Soojah reinstated on the throne on August 7.

1839. *August 31.*—I read Brougham's speech at the Wellington Cinque Ports festival, where he proposed the Duke's health. Such monstrous adulation I never met with before; and this, too, in regard to the man of whom he said only last year, "Westminster Abbey yawns for him." I saw that Burdett figured also on this occasion, and could not keep his tongue or hands off us. He was the only man who talked politics at this festival. I had met Brougham the last Wednesday, as I was riding to Richmond, and he then told me, with much exultation, that he had been chosen to propose the Duke's health.

Strange mortal! On Monday he made a complimentary speech respecting Lord Melbourne, and begged him to employ his manly and vigorous understanding in perfecting a scheme of national education; and he then talked of his ancient attachment to Lord Melbourne, and sobbed aloud. The melting mood did not last long with him; for, talking of recent changes, he called Labouchere and George Grey *grands fainéants*, and congratulated me on not having to deal with Sheil.

September 20.—Lord Holland told me to-day that Lord Clarendon had been offered the Privy Seal with Cabinet rank, and Macaulay Secretaryship of War with Cabinet rank. Lord John Russell was in high spirits, and said he should begin next session with perfect confidence of success. He thought Peel had confirmed the Government in

power by his conduct in May. Peel certainly has done something to keep himself out; but I do not see how he can keep us in. At least, not if he opposes us every night, as he did last session. 1839.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On September 26 I had a letter from Lord Melbourne, desiring me to attend a Council at Windsor to swear in Macaulay. Lord Melbourne added that Her Majesty wished me to stay at the Castle two or three days.

October 1.—We had an early Cabinet, and discussed the China question. Palmerston laid before us a detail of the occurrences at Canton.¹ He showed how one line-of-battleship, with two frigates and two or three steamers, and some small armed vessels, might blockade the whole coast, from the river of Peking down to the coast at Canton. I told him that this proposal had been made by Mr. Lindsay in 1836, when Lord Napier died.

¹ In 1837 the Chinese Government decided to put down the opium traffic, a measure which was hotly opposed by the English merchants, who held large quantities of the drug. Captain Elliot, our representative, foreseeing trouble, had asked for the appointment of a Commission, but this advice was disregarded by the Home Government. Smuggling went on apace, and in the end Elliot had to surrender some £4,000,000 worth of opium, which was burnt. Trouble ensued, and Elliot, in conjunction with his cousin, Admiral Elliot, took the Bogue Forts, and concluded a preliminary treaty with the Chinese. This was soon broken, and Elliot was on the point of taking Canton a second time when he was superseded by Mr. H. Pottinger.

1839. Macaulay was exceedingly eloquent against the Chinese, and was decidedly for hostile measures. He spoke with his usual volubility and eagerness; but I thought he spoke too much. Labouchere whispered to me that, if he was always so powerful in talking, no business would be done. Baring asked what was to be done in regard to the two millions of money which the merchants had lost, by giving up their opium to save the lives of Elliot and the other English. Lord Melbourne was decidedly of opinion that the British Government should not pay the money. Labouchere thought that the East India Company should pay it. Macaulay was for seizing Chinese property; so was Palmerston.

After a long discussion, in which I was backed by Lord Melbourne, in expressing some doubts of the expediency and the results of blockading a coast of some thousand miles or more, it was determined to send a squadron to the China seas, and to instruct the Governor-General of India to co-operate with the admiral in command of our ships in taking whatever measures might be found necessary.

Before we separated I whispered to Macaulay that the charges made against us of idleness could hardly be sustained; for at the first Cabinet which he had attended we had resolved upon a war with the master of Syria and Egypt, backed by France, and also on a war with the master of one-third of the human race. He laughed

and said : " He had no doubts about our Chinese policy, but did not feel so certain as to our Egyptian." 1839.

After business I rode with the Queen in the park and the forest for two hours, and got wet through.

During this visit I went over the State Apartments. They appeared to me very imposing. The morning-rooms contained the busts and flags of Marlborough and Wellington. The head of Nelson was on a shaft, cut out of the mainmast of the *Victory*, with a cannon-shot hole through it. We were shown the library, which seemed to contain a very large collection of books, considering the short time it had been in hand.

The Princess Augusta dined at the Castle, and in the evening I played at whist with H.R.H. She thanked me for the Assam tea which I had sent to her as well as to the other members of the Royal Family. The Queen was in great spirits, and laughed a good deal with me at the ducking we had got on our ride in the morning.

I left the Castle on October 3, and went to Erle Stoke, where I resumed my official work.

October 22.—I had a letter from Methuen, telling me that Count d'Orsay had just told him the news that Brougham had been thrown out of a carriage, knocked on the skull, and, the wheel going over his head, was killed on the spot. Leader, who was with him, was also thrown out, and was not expected to live. Methuen said that

1839. D'Orsay had seen the letter, which was addressed to young Alfred Montgomery, from Brougham Hall, and there was no doubt of the story. My brother T.B. wrote the same account to his sister Matilda.

I moralised a little on the catastrophe; but said, at dinner, that, after all, I had some mis-giving as to the truth of the story, and I should not be surprised if it turned out to have been got up by Brougham himself, in order to see what would be said of him. I did not, however, communicate my suspicions to my correspondent, for fear of appearing unfeeling, and of making a joke of a great disaster.

The next day came a letter from Methuen to say the story was not true; and that Brougham was suspected of having invented the tale himself. My sister Matilda had a letter to the same effect from her brother. It seemed that the newspapers, all but the *Times*, gave entire credit to the story. The *Morning Post* bewailed the event most dolefully, the *Morning Chronicle* a good deal, and no journal abused the supposed defunct, even when the hoax was discovered, nor was the real author of it suspected; but the trick was imputed to a Mr. Shafto, who was at Brougham Hall at the time, but denied having written the letter. Brougham, however, had written a letter confessing that he originated the joke, as he called it. D'Orsay took this to Sir Arthur Paget, who showed my brother Edward the letter. D'Orsay published a letter denying that he mentioned the story at White's

in an unfeeling manner, and my friend Methuen, 1839.
more kindly than wisely, published a confirmation of that fact. Altogether the trick is a wretched sample of Brougham's love of notoriety and characteristic cunning. It is quite sufficient to say, at this distance of time and place, that the tale was a very paltry fiction, devised to administer to a mind diseased.

On October 31 I heard the important news of the capture of Guznee by Outram, and the entrance of Shah Soojah into Cabul, on August 7 last. Thus, it appeared, had ended this campaign.

Of all our colleagues, the one that was most pleased with these successes was Lord Palmerston; and I always found in him a cordial sympathiser in every variety of fortune, more particularly in success—a very rare quality—at least I have found it so: for many of those who are willing to stand by a friend in adversity are but lukewarm applauders of victory. This does not arise from jealousy or indifference, but from a dislike of exaggeration, as was the case with Lord Melbourne, who, I heard, had been laughing, with the Adjutant-General, at the taking of Guznee.

I was not a little annoyed at this, and wrote to Lord Melbourne entreating him to be a little more reserved in his comments when communicating with persons not in the Cabinet. He answered me with his usual kindness; saying that the affair was brilliant, but that he was in the habit of thinking nothing settled until completely finished.

1839. Subsequent events showed how right his rule had been, and how properly applied in the case of our Afghan triumphs.

I dined at Holland House on November 4, with Sir Robert Adair, Le Marchant, and a small party. In the evening Lady Clanricarde joined us, and we talked of Brougham's hoax. Some of us talked rather freely of the affair, and I felt sure the conversation would be reported to the person principally concerned; and so it was, for, a day or two afterwards, I had a letter from Brougham, denouncing the Court and Holland House, and, amongst other things, saying it was impossible he should have been the author of the story, but never denying it positively. My own opinion was that, although he might not have actually originated it, he was cognisant of it.

I again dined at Holland House with a large party on November 7. Lady Holland tried to persuade me to dine at the Lord Mayor's dinner on the 9th. I replied that I did not wish to go to be hissed. She replied, there was no fear of that; I had victories at my back. I told her that I knew the citizens of London better than she did. They neither knew nor cared about India, and had no other object than to gratify themselves by hissing men in power, who were the enemies of their monopoly. I heard afterwards that the Ministry were very much hissed at the Guildhall dinner, and that Lord Melbourne was not suffered to speak for five minutes.

FROM DIARY.

1839.

November 14.—Went to Covent Garden to see the *School for Scandal*. I did not like any of the actors except perhaps Madame Vestris. Charles Matthews was abominable in Charles Surface; and, by the way, the conduct of Charles when Lady Teazle is discovered seems unfeeling, ungentlemanlike, and cruel. In his delight at the exposure of Joseph he quite forgets her situation and seems to enjoy her confusion.

The audience did not appear to understand the merit of the play, and were much better pleased with the buffoonery of the farce which followed, and in which Charles Matthews did show wonderful powers of mimicry!

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

At a Cabinet dinner on November 18, Lord Melbourne began, and said, "I suppose you all expect that we should settle about this marriage." He then proceeded to inform us that, the Queen having decided to marry Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, it was necessary to take measures for that purpose immediately. He said he had been looking into the precedents and found that, when George III. married, he assembled the Privy Council and made a declaration of his intentions to them. We next talked of the settlement to be made upon the Prince. Lord Melbourne mentioned that it was the wish, both of the Queen and Prince, that the establishment

1839. of the Prince should be small. As to his pension, if he survived the Queen, Lord Melbourne mentioned the precedents in regard to the pensions of surviving Queen-Consorts. He added that the pension of Prince George of Denmark was £100,000 a year, which he (Lord Melbourne) thought too much; and he added that, in his opinion, £50,000 a year would be enough. Most of us concurred in this, except that Lord Holland was inclined to give more, and Lord John Russell seemed determined against giving so much, saying that the pension granted to the Duchess of Kent was quite enough, and that nothing was so dangerous to a monarchy as making these preposterous grants. He added that the farmers and others in the country continually talked of the expenses of the Royal Family, and were disgusted with them. "Is it not so?" he concluded, turning to me. Lord John then declared that he was not prepared to move the House of Commons for any large establishment or pension for Prince Albert. The general opinion, however, being in favour of £50,000, he at last reluctantly gave way.

At our Cabinet on November 20 Lord Melbourne read to us his proposed Queen's Declaration. It was very good, and Macaulay, who seemed the established critic, extolled it highly.

The following day I went to Buckingham Palace and requested an audience on Indian affairs. There was no Lord-in-waiting, nor

1839.

Groom; and, after some time, I was shown into the closet by a page. I waited some little time before the Queen came in. H.M. apologised for having kept me waiting, and, having seated herself on one side of the table, desired me to sit in the arm-chair opposite.

The Queen was looking very well, and was in high spirits, and more than usually gracious; although she was always gracious—at least, I never saw her otherwise.

The Duke of Wellington has been very ill; so ill that we had discussions in the Cabinet as to the ceremonies to be observed in case of his death.

November 22.—At the Cabinet, on this day, the Lord Chancellor told us that some reform of the Equity Courts was indispensable. He told us that suitors could not be persuaded to go to the Rolls Court; and he mentioned to me, privately, that my friend Bickersteth did not give satisfaction. He was even petulant with the counsel who practised in his Court; yet no man could make a clearer statement of a case, or seemed to have a capacity more eminently judicial.

But I think I have remarked that lawyers are not very lenient in dealing with the defects of their professional antagonists or even professional friends; and I recollect hearing of a comment made by a very celebrated Chancery practitioner, Bell, who said to Shadwell, when first made Vice-Chancellor, “Now, Shadwell, you must begin to learn to think.”

1839. This day I dined with the Queen; excepting Lord Melbourne and the Officers of the household, there were no other guests, so we dined in a small room downstairs. H.M. remarked on the smallness of the room, on which Lord Melbourne said, "It is twice as big as Lady Holland's dining-room, as Hobhouse knows."

I had some talk with Madame Lehzen, formerly the governess of Her Majesty. She said of Prince Albert that the Queen appreciated him, and expected to be happy with him. Lord Palmerston had before told me as much, and added that the Duchess of Cambridge had informed him that the match had been projected since the childhood of the parties. The Queen came up to me in the drawing-room, and laughed with me at the gentlemen staying so long in the dining-room: an indiscretion which, H.M. said, the new Lord Chamberlain (Lord Erroll) had imputed to Lord Melbourne insisting on my giving an account of the taking of Guznee. I remarked that every fault was sure to be imputed to Lord Melbourne; but that, fortunately, he was strong enough to bear anything. To which the Queen assented, laughing heartily.

Her Majesty sat down, and desired me to play at chess with Miss Cocks, one of her household. I did so, and won a game, and I was winning another when H.M. rose and went to bed. H.M. asked who had won, and, being told, said, "I thought so," and seemed pleased, I knew not why.

The next day I went to a Council at Buckingham Palace, to hear Her Majesty declare her intended marriage. The room seemed full, but there were not more than ninety Privy Councillors present. The Duke of Wellington was there, and took his seat not far from the Queen. Peel and Lyndhurst kept at the bottom of the room, so did Brougham, who was dressed fantastically, I thought, in a wig and gown; but perhaps the costume was correct. 1839.

The Queen did not appear until two o'clock. We all rose as she entered the room; she desired us to be seated. She looked pale, and red under the eyes, and, when she began her Declaration, her voice faltered a little; but she soon recovered herself, and got through her disagreeable duty with admirable presence of mind, reading her speech in a strong, decided tone, and looking up from her paper, with dignified composure, on those around and before her.

Lord Lansdowne, as President of the Council, performed his part well; and, in the name of all the Privy Councillors, requested Her Majesty to be graciously pleased to publish her Declaration. But he told me that he felt very nervous at the time. The Queen withdrew immediately after putting the Declaration into Lord Lansdowne's hand.

Dining this day, November 23, 1839, at S.S.B.S., I heard that the Duke of Cambridge said to Brougham, in his way: "Eh, eh! so I hear you

1839. killed yourself, and wrote an account of your own death." On which Brougham said he should like to have proofs of that. On which H.R.H. replied, "No proofs are wanting; you know you did." This passed at the Queen's Council of Declaration of Marriage, in the hearing of several persons present.

On November 24 I dined with Lord Holland. He mentioned that at the peace with America, in 1782, there was a project for giving up Gibraltar in exchange for the Havannah; and the Duke of Richmond, then a member of the Cabinet, denounced it in the House of Lords. The late King, William IV., thought that the present Lord Lansdowne might entertain the same project as his father, and he spoke of it to Lord Grey, and protested he would never consent to it.

FROM DIARY.

November 29.—I went to Erle Stoke. During these holidays I received some agreeable guests, and, what with shooting and other pastimes, passed a very pleasant time of it. Lord and Lady Seymour (the Queen of Beauty, and a very beautiful creature she was), and several members of the Court of Directors visited me.

Lady Seymour is surpassingly beautiful, with manners perhaps a little eccentric. Lord Seymour is a much more clever man than his look and manners would induce any one to believe.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1839.

When my little party broke up, I went to Bowood. There I found Thomas Moore, Lord and Lady Dunfermline, Lord Radnor, and his son Edward Bouverie. Mr. Senior was also there. I had not been previously acquainted with him, and could not say that I was much charmed with him: afterwards, when I knew him better, I liked him better. Lady Kerry, widow of Lord Lansdowne's eldest son, was one of the guests.

Lord Lansdowne, as usual, was the most agreeable of all those at his table. He told some excellent stories of poet Bowles, who, amongst other eccentricities, was afraid of sleeping out of his own house. When last at Bowood, he went to look at several rooms before he could fix upon his room. In one room he was afraid of fire, in another of thieves. He was very careful of his literary fame, and once asked Lord Lansdowne to accompany him to a book-club sale, in order that Lord L. might buy the poem, "The Spirit of Discovery," at a fair price, in order that it might not appear to have lost its value, the reverend author promising to buy it again of Lord Lansdowne at the money his lordship gave for it. It would have been well if this very middling poet had confined himself to such vagaries; but he did not, and broke out now and then into sallies which showed that he could be spiteful and malicious, and not over-scrupulous in confining himself to the deceptions of controversy.

1839. This visit would have been more agreeable if I had not noticed the woeful change in the appearance of my hostess. Poor Lady Lansdowne was but the wreck of the beautiful woman I had known in former days; her hair was grey, her eyes dim, her cheeks furrowed, yet she assumed a gaiety which ill concealed the grief caused by the death of her eldest son, and of her dear friend, Mary Ricardo; to say nothing of the dangerous illness of her daughter.

1840. *January 9, 1840.*—At our Cabinet to-day we turned to the news which had just arrived, of the conviction of Frost,¹ and the recommendation of the jury for mercy. Lord Melbourne said he saw little in that recommendation; the jury were frightened, so was the judge. For his own part he felt certain that some decided measures were indispensable to prevent anarchy. He added that, as for himself, he was prepared for them. I remarked that, as the object of the Chartists was to knock us on the head and rob us of our property, we might as well arrive at the catastrophe after a struggle as without it; we could only fail, and we might succeed. “Exactly so,” replied Lord Melbourne.

At our next Cabinet Lord Normanby read to us a letter he had received from Sir T. Phillips at Monmouth, saying that every one there was astonished at Chief Justice Tindal’s charge to the

¹ John Frost, Chartist. Led an armed mob into Newport, 1839; transported to Van Diemen’s Land, 1840.

jury on the trial of Frost, and that nothing but the firmness of the jury had saved the country from the triumph of the Chartists. Lord Holland, however, in Cabinet, said he did not see how the recommendation to mercy was to be overlooked. Macaulay said the House of Lords had addressed George I., in 1715, to spare the rebel Lords. 1840.

We had some discussion as to the form in which the Royal marriage should be announced, and considered whether Prince Albert was competent to make a treaty of marriage. Palmerston showed the paper which Baron Stockmar had given him, and asked if any one of us could read German in a written hand. Lord Clarendon took the paper, and, quietly reading it himself, explained the purport of it, and told us it was signed by Prince Albert himself, and not by his father. It was settled that Palmerston should arrange this paragraph.

FROM DIARY.

January 13.—At Cabinet to-day, Macaulay, talking of the suicide of Lord Clive, told us that, passing through a room where a lady was writing, she asked him (Lord Clive) to mend her pen. He did so, and then, walking into his own room, cut his throat with the penknife he had just used.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On January 15 we had a Council at Buckingham Palace, when the Queen's Speech was read.

1840. Her Majesty was quite unmoved at the announcement of her own marriage.

The next day Her Majesty opened the Parliament in person. I heard that she was a little nervous at the beginning of her Speech, but soon recovered herself. She was much applauded by the populace. The crowd in the streets was considerable; there was no disturbance of any kind. The first proceedings had reference to our privileges.

In the Lords the Duke of Wellington made a speech which I thought unwise, and insisted upon the word "Protestant" before the mention of Prince Albert. Lord Melbourne deprecated this; but, of course, gave way.

At the Cabinet of January 17 Lord Normanby told us that the Attorney-General had made promises to the prisoners¹ of greater leniency, if they pleaded guilty, than he was authorised to do; and that the Judges complained of him, as well as of the committing magistrates. All, however, agreed that C. J. Tindal pleaded like an advocate for Frost, so much so that when the

¹ The trial of John Frost for high treason in planning an attack on Newport, was begun at Monmouth on December 31, 1839. At the outset a technical point was raised as to the names of witnesses not having been given beforehand to the defendant. This point was reserved for the judges in London. Frost and his accomplices, Williams and Jones, were found guilty. They thereupon pleaded guilty in the hope of getting their sentence transmuted to transportation. On January 28, 1840, the point as to witnesses was decided in favour of the prisoners, who were then sentenced to transportation. The Attorney-General was Sir John (afterwards Lord) Campbell.

jury went out, all the Crown counsel retired to consider what they should do when Frost was acquitted, which they considered certain. 1840.

We have won the Southwark election. Russell told me that when H.M. heard the election news, she was out riding; and on receiving it said, "Good news—good news; I shall ride no more to-day."

Russell also told me that when he mentioned to the Queen that Peel had spoken in handsome terms of her in his speech on the Address, H.M. said, "I am glad of it; but it is all very well, he and I shall never love one another." H.M. is of too kindly a nature to be capable of permanent dislikes, and could not foresee what I witnessed—namely, that at the death of Sir Robert Peel she was inconsolable, wept like a child, and was with difficulty persuaded to proceed with the ordinary business of the State.¹

January 29.—A Cabinet sat on the case of Frost and his accomplices. We had a very painful deliberation. Lord Melbourne gave his opinion, and concluded by saying that Frost had been convicted of the highest crime known to British law, under the most aggravating circumstances; and that, in his opinion, the welfare of society and the demands of justice required that he should

¹ "I have little to add to Albert's letter of yesterday, except my *extreme* admiration of our worthy Peel, who shows himself a man of unbounded *loyalty, courage, patriotism, and highmindedness*, and his conduct towards me has been *chivalrous* almost, I might say."—Queen Victoria to King of the Belgians, December 23, 1845.

1840. suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Our opinions were given seriatim; and, after some hesitation on the part of Lord Palmerston and Macaulay, we decided unanimously that Frost should be executed. The Lord Chancellor was most decided in this opinion.

We then considered the cases of Williams and Jones; and, after a good deal of discussion, decided that they also should be executed. Labouchere opposed this on the ground that "the execution of Frost would answer better than that of the three traitors." The Lord Chancellor said that there was no difference between the three cases; and that, so far as the evidence went, Williams and Jones were rather more criminal than Frost.

I left the Cabinet with a full conviction that all the three would be executed, and, though I had given a decided opinion in the affirmative, felt exceedingly nervous and depressed at being compelled to discharge so painful a duty.

At our next Cabinet meeting, however, Lord Normanby told us that he had seen Chief Justice Tindal, who had told him it would be advisable for the Government to consider whether, under all the circumstances, the lives of the criminals might not be spared. This opinion produced a great effect; and even Lord Melbourne confessed that it would be difficult to execute the men after such a hint. Very little more was said; but it was determined that Lord Normanby should

get Chief Justice Tindal to state his views in writing, and that the sentences should be commuted to transportation for life, as an act of grace, totally unconnected with any objections which the lawyers had made in the course of the trials. It appeared that Lord Normanby had written the night before to Monmouth, fixing the execution for the next Thursday. I was not at all pleased with the conduct of the Government in this matter; and I heard, privately, an explanation of it, which gave a tinge of ridicule to a very grave dilemma—namely, that the sentence of the law would have been carried out, but for the circumstance that there was no apparatus ready at Monmouth for the performance of these tragedies, as no execution had taken place for many years at this place. 1840.

FROM DIARY.

February 8.—Riding through the Horse-Guards to-day I saw a great crowd waiting the arrival of Prince Albert, but H.R.H. (for so he is, and a Field-Marshal) went over Vauxhall Bridge, straight to Buckingham Palace. It is said H.M. saluted him, on receiving him, and went down the hall steps to meet him. He was accompanied by his father and brother.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

I went to the Chapel Royal, St. James's, to attend the Queen's marriage. The Cabinet

1840. Ministers had places assigned to them and their families at the end of the West Gallery. I was put over the altar, and had an opportunity of observing every movement of all principally concerned in the ceremony. The description given in the newspapers was sufficiently accurate; and, as I saw Hayter, in the corner to the left of the altar, occupied with his pencil, I felt sure that the ceremony would be faithfully represented. The Queen-Dowager took her seat first, and then Prince Albert arrived. I had never seen him so near me before. I was greatly pleased with his appearance. Indeed, I should say that he looked very handsome; and the ladies, best judges in such matters, pronounced him to be a very handsome man. Indeed, a lady of my acquaintance said she considered our Queen to have made a very fortunate choice, and she was much to be envied. He was a little embarrassed with his gloves and his Prayer-book, and seemed not to know whether he ought to bow to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, or the altar. Queen Adelaide talked a good deal to him, and seemed to be telling him what to do during the service; so, also, did the Duke, his father, a fine-looking man.

There was an interval of twenty minutes between the appearance of the Prince and the entrance of the Queen. Her Majesty's approach was announced by the band playing "God save the Queen," and a flourish of trumpets, heard

1840

first at some little distance, and producing rather a theatrical effect. The Queen walked slowly to the altar, and knelt for a short time; then rose and pulled off her gloves and gave them to one of her ladies. She then opened her Prayer-book, and the Archbishop of Canterbury began the service. H.M. looked handsome, but pale, and the orange-blossoms in her head shook violently. But she performed her part with her usual propriety and presence of mind, and prompted Prince Albert during the reading of the lessons more than once. She once beckoned to him to approach nearer when he put the ring on her finger, and pointed to the finger on which the ring was to be put. She pronounced the responses in a clear, steady voice, and repeated, "I, Victoria, wed thee, Albert," in a tone of deep, calm feeling, which I shall never forget. The Prince also repeated his lesson well, but with more emotion than the Queen. There was a dead silence within the Chapel; but the voices and wrangling of the multitude outside the Chapel-windows might be distinctly heard. The whole service was performed, and was a good deal longer than usual. Two anthems were sung. At the close of the ceremony the Queen kissed the Royal Dukes, and Princesses, and also Queen Adelaide, most affectionately; and I remarked that she called the Princess Mary of Cambridge to her and kissed her. Just before she retired she turned round to Lord Melbourne, who held the sword of state,

1840. and smiled playfully. There was something affecting in the scene; but I saw only two persons in tears—one was the Duchess of Somerset and the other my friend Morpeth. The Queen and Prince walked down the Chapel hand in hand, and even then I remarked that Her Majesty was obliged to prompt Prince Albert. H.R.H. seemed afraid of being too conspicuous; and there was an apparent shyness in his manner which he never, so far as I observed, entirely got rid of when in presence of the Queen.

I saw the Royal couple in their travelling carriage afterwards, in the Park, on their way to Windsor. This was about four o'clock. There was a dense crowd on both sides of the road, and a good many carriages and horsemen were drawn up to see them pass. The acclamations and waving of handkerchiefs were incessant. The carriage went very slowly, and the Queen bowed to the people repeatedly. Their reception was most enthusiastic; yet a Tory lady told my friend Lady Howick that the Queen was not cheered at all. The newspapers said that the same reception was given to them all the way to Windsor. The glasses of the carriage were down, and several persons on horseback rode close to the carriage to look at her. The Prince sat opposite to Her Majesty.

All London seemed in movement. The weather improved as the day advanced, and the streets were crowded in every direction. The illuminations

in the evening were more than usually splendid, 1840.
and the crowd increased ; but I heard of no riots,
nor any impropriety, excepting some ballads, un-
suitable, or, rather, too suitable for the occasion.

I had a small party to dine with me—the Hope Veres, the Methuens, and F. Mildmay. The wedding-cake which Her Majesty had sent to me was in the middle of the table ; my children came down to dessert, and all of us drank the health of the Queen and the Prince. I doubt whether any in the land were more sincere in their good wishes than my little party. I did not go to the Duchess of Sutherland's dress-party, being tired, and unwilling to put on my fine clothes again. So ended this day.

FROM DIARY.

February 14.—This day Lord Hill called on me, and told me the Duke of Wellington had had another paralytic seizure !

February 15.—Cabinet. Labouchere read to us a proposal for Commercial Treaty with France, which is more liberal than any yet offered, but which annexes a condition that will prevent the arrangement, viz. free *exportation of our machinery*, to which our great manufacturing parties will never consent.

I dined at Mr. Speaker's, who has had two fine rooms built for him in Eaton Square, and has renewed the Court Dress fashion. I sat next to friend Ellice, and the evening passed off pleasantly.

1840. *February 16.*—Dined in Park Street. Met Sir Harry Mildmay, whom I had not seen for more than twenty years, and scarcely recognised the gay and handsome Lothario whose follies made so much noise in my younger days. He is now fat and overgrown, with no pretensions to good looks; but he is lively and talkative, and, having seen a good deal of the best society in Italy—Milan principally—has many agreeable stories to tell.

He told me that he left Lord Hartford the other day in Italy, and that his lordship said he might depend upon it Lord Melbourne was, at his present time of speaking, out of office, and Parliament dissolved; so sure were the Conservatives of turning us out at the beginning of this Session.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On February 19 I went to Court, and saw Her Majesty for the first time since her marriage. She seemed in good spirits. Prince Albert was on her left hand, and bowed, with graceful civility, to all who passed him. The Court was exceedingly full, and a great many congratulatory addresses were presented. Sir Walter James presented one from Hull, signed by 700 Conservative electors, congratulating H.M. on having married a Protestant Prince. The Queen received this insolent hint with a good-humoured smile. I remarked that, although she was distant with some of the more violent of our opponents, she was very

civil to Lord Stanley, and showed that preference which, I understand, has continued now for so many years, under a great variety of circumstances. 1840.

On February 21 we occupied the greater part of the sitting with our Army Estimates. The debate ended with an attack by Peel on Palmerston's foreign policy. His principal objections were—that Palmerston had not forced the Portuguese to abandon the slave-trade; also that Palmerston had not forced the Spaniards to allow a Protestant chapel to be built at the Havannah; also that he, Palmerston, had allowed the French to rent the islet in front of Port Mahon; and, lastly, for irritating the French Government, by allowing our newspaper—meaning, I suppose, the *Morning Chronicle*—to attack the French Government. Of all the attacks made by Sir Robert Peel on Lord Palmerston—and, in those days, they were many—I thought this the most ill-judging; and nothing could be more successful than Palmerston's answer, and I was sure that Peel thought so, for his rejoinder was very poor and ineffectual.

The next day I dined at Buckingham Palace. The only Minister present, except myself, was Lord Melbourne. There were only a few guests, and they, excepting Lord and Lady Ashley, were persons composing the suite of Prince Albert's father. The Prince and Queen came into the room together. He sat on the left hand of Her Majesty; Lord Melbourne was on her right hand.

1840. The Duchess of Kent was ill, and did not appear; but her suite were there.

I handed in one of the Paget family, a beautiful, yellow-haired girl, and sat next to her at dinner. H.M. seemed in good spirits, and talked a good deal with her immediate neighbours. After dinner, we drank not only the health of the Queen, as usual, but also that of Prince Albert, the Queen standing up and smiling towards him. The ladies and gentlemen of the party retired at the same time; but we stayed a short time in the ante-room.

When we came into the drawing-room Lord Melbourne introduced me to Prince Albert, and the Prince, Lord Melbourne, and myself had some conversation on the late campaigns in Afghanistan. The Prince made some sensible remarks, showing he had paid more attention than was currently believed to such subjects. Lord Melbourne talked to him with a polite freedom, natural to him, and agreeable to all associates of whatever rank, without stiffness, without undue formality. I have never seen any one quite equal, or, indeed, approaching to him in his intercourse with all classes.

After tea the Prince and Queen sat on the sofa, and Lord Melbourne in his usual arm-chair. The Queen and Prince played at some game called, as I heard, German Tactics; but afterwards H.M. turned round and conversed with Lord Melbourne, and with me, on several subjects.

1840.

Amongst them were two or three connected with my own department. H.M. told me she had tried the Assam tea, of which I had sent her a specimen. H.M. said that she liked it, but had been told it was of inferior quality. I asked her who had told her so. "Why," replied the Queen, "it was Lord Melbourne." I defended my teas, and then we talked of the Indian army, and recent successes. Lord Melbourne observed that we should never stop until we got to Teheran. I laughed, and said that some of our Indian friends would be glad to make Her Majesty Queen of Persia; but that her Empire was large enough already. Lord Melbourne said that the inevitable tendency of such empires was to expand. I quoted Mr. Canning's saying on this subject, viz. "the irrepressible tendency to expansion." The Queen listened to the talk with complacency, but made no remark. She then turned to the Prince, who was playing cards with Lady Uxbridge, and overlooked his game. I never saw a more interesting couple than the Prince and Queen, in any rank of life, nor more propriety of demeanour, under circumstances of no little embarrassment. The Queen retired, and the party broke up at half-past eleven.

On March 5 I heard part of a debate about abolishing the punishment of death. I did not vote, having my doubts, which I still entertain (1866), on that question.

1840. FROM DIARY.

March 7.—I dined at home, and had my little girls with me afterwards. They sang and acted an opera composed impromptu, chiefly by my second daughter, and I must say her precocity in that line astonished and rather alarmed me.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On March 11 a great dinner was given at Drury Lane Theatre, to celebrate the fiftieth year of Mr. Byng's representation of Middlesex. I did not attend, but I sent £5 subscription for the piece of plate that was presented to him on that occasion. Few persons have passed a long public life with a reputation so unscathed as that of Mr. Byng.

On March 15, dining with the Lord Chancellor, I was, by Lord Lansdowne, introduced to Mons. Guizot. The first impression produced by this celebrated Frenchman was not over-favourable. He was a small, rather insignificant, buttoned-up, black-stock sort of personage—like a French Abbé; but he seemed lively, and willing to be pleased. He told me he had never before been out of France.

On March 18 I dined at the Albion Tavern with the Court of Directors, who entertained General Whittingham on his departure as Commander-in-Chief at Madras. General Alava was of the party. He had known Whittingham in Spain, and spoke to me highly of him; so did

Lord Hill. He was an elderly, weatherbeaten gentleman, in a black wig. I was kindly received at this dinner, and made, I was told, a good speech on returning thanks for my health; but I owed this to Guznee and Kelat. 1840.

March 19.—I went to a party at Lansdowne House, where I saw for the first time the Mrs. Austen. A fine eye, and a striking-looking woman, but very large.

On April 4 I dined with Stanley, our Secretary, and met Guizot, Lord John Russell, young Ellice and his wife, Austin the barrister, Lord Duncannon, and Daniel O'Connell. Guizot told me he had the greatest anxiety to meet O'Connell, and, during dinner, he listened and looked at him with much attention. We had a very agreeable day. O'Connell talked well and quietly, and spoke dispassionately of the Catholic religion. He gave us an interesting account of the Benedictine establishments in Ireland, their wealth and general respectability. Guizot spoke English well. Austin told me that he looked at him with pride, as the triumph of learning and literature over aristocratic prejudices. I looked upon Guizot, O'Connell, and Russell to be three of the most remarkable men of our time.

FROM DIARY.

April 5.—I dined with a large party at Lord Palmerston's. It consisted chiefly of Foreign Ministers and their wives. In addition to these

1840. were Lord and Lady Clarendon. I sat next to the latter, who, after we had talked some time, asked me who I was; and, when I told her, added, very civilly, that she had requested to be introduced to me at Mr. Stanley's, but I had then left the room.

This little compliment gave me the courage to try to please her, and I lost some of that *mauvaise honte* which generally depresses me in society. After dinner I had some talk with Madame de B., who told me she had seen Madame Guiccioli in London, and thought her still handsome.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

At the House of Commons, on April 7, I heard Graham make his opening speech against the Government, in regard to their Chinese policy. He said little or nothing of the war or of the opium trade; but his principal charge was our having left Captain Elliot without due powers and instructions.¹ As to powers, I thought Elliot had all he could want; in regard to instructions, perhaps Palmerston's letters were not sufficiently full and definite. Macaulay answered Graham in a very eloquent and argumentative harangue. Follett deprecated war with the Chinese as in-

¹ Sir James Graham's motion was to the effect that the rupture of friendly relations with China, and the hostilities which had taken place, were entirely due to the neglect of the Government, who had disregarded all warnings and had not given proper support to Captain Elliot. The debate began on April 7, and the motion was lost on the 10th by 271 to 261.

glorious. Sir George Staunton complained of the motion as containing nothing declaratory of the character of the war and of the opium trade. He spoke feebly, but his long residence in China gave him weight. 1840.

Gladstone, speaking on the same question, made a frantic declamation against opium-smuggling, and actually went the length of saying, "Of course they poisoned the wells." This raised a yell of abhorrence from us, and Graham, Peel, and Stanley hung their heads.

I made a long speech of two hours, the first part of which was very effective; but, when I began to argue and go into details, and quote from the Blue Book, I did not keep the House quiet. Palmerston concluded the debate and made a very effective party speech, defending himself valiantly and attacking the accusers vigorously. He did not argue much, and the little he did in that way was but a repetition of what I had just said. He was so gallant and confident, and claimed the support of all on our side with so much gay assurance, that he completely succeeded in his appeal, and sat down amidst thunders of applause, which lasted some time. We divided 271 to 261. The Conservatives cheered a good deal, and our friends joined them. The truth was, we were fortunate in being able to keep our party together on this occasion.

The next morning I found a letter from my acquaintance of many years, Sir George Staunton.

1840. It began "Sir," and complained of my having "used a freedom with his name"; and saying that, although I could not have meant any personal offence, he must request me not to repeat the expression. Strange man!

I had called him "My excellent and innocent friend," and said that he had been so long in China he did not know the wicked ways of the political world, otherwise he would have been aware that Graham had formed his motion in ambiguous terms, only to catch votes. I wrote a note to him in very friendly terms, assuring him that "he was the last man to whom I would willingly give offence, and, if I had inadvertently done so, I was heartily sorry for it."

I heard that the phrase which offended him was that "I should like to know on what hill he had been keeping his sheep"—a foolish pleasantry, no doubt, but not requiring such a remonstrance. I took an early opportunity of saying something handsome in another debate, and we were as good friends as before, and continued to be so until the end of his days.

On April 11 I went to the opera after dinner, and sat opposite to the Queen and Prince Albert, who seemed much pleased with the dancing of Fanny Elsler, in the *Tarantella*.

Dining at the Palace on April 13, I had the good fortune to sit next to Miss Anson, a very agreeable lady. After dinner, in the drawing-room, H.M. spoke to me a good deal about the

long debate on China, and then told me of her holiday visit to Windsor; amongst other things she told me she had seen me the other evening at the opera, and asked me who the ladies were that were with me. 1840.

Prince Albert then came to me, and talked on similar topics, giving an account of his drives with the Queen and the civility with which he was treated by every one. There was a softness and modesty in his manners which were very attractive. Our opponents were spreading the most absurd rumours about the severity of the Queen's dominion over him. Whilst I was playing whist with the Duchess of Kent, Lord Palmerston and Prince Albert, and his brother Prince Ernest and a fourth person, played at double chess, a game I never saw before, and, by the way, have never seen since.

When H.M. left the room I had some talk with Lord Melbourne, and, on my remarking that "Sir Robert Peel had more than once signified his readiness to take the Government"—"True," remarked Lord Melbourne, "and I had resolved to notice it; but I had forgotten it. I shall, however, do it." I was seldom alone with Lord Melbourne without his speaking to me about my department; and, on the previous Saturday, he took me aside at the Cabinet and said, "Although the odds are ten to one we shall not be in office next year, we ought to provide for contingencies as much as if we were to remain there for

1840. our lives. Now I hear that Auckland is preparing to leave India next February." I told Lord Melbourne that it was highly desirable Auckland should remain in India, and I promised to take the steps necessary to secure that object.
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CHAPTER VII

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

1840.

Dining at Holland House on April 16, I met Mr. De Neumann (the Austrian Minister), Baron Bulow, Mr. Dedel, Rogers, Litton, Mr. Dundas (the new Member for Sutherland), Lord Palmerston, and a Mr. Williams, whom I did not know. We passed an agreeable evening, and had some talk which was not, in those days, often heard at the tables of our fashionable folk.

Lord Holland himself started two or three questions, to which no one gave satisfactory answers—*e.g.* who was Ragotski? Neumann said he was a Hungarian; Bulow said he was a Frenchman, who conspired against the Emperor of Germany. Here we all stopped; even Mr. Allen knew nothing more. Lord Holland talked of the Homeric *moly*,¹ and asked me what it was. I said it was a herb. Lord Holland would not admit this; he said it was mentioned in the "Odyssey," and alluded to by Milton in "Comus," but nothing was said of its being a herb. When

¹ Μᾶλυ, a herb of magic power given by Hermes to Ulysses as a counter-charm to the attractions of Circe.—*Odyssey*, x. 305.

1840. we went into the library, we looked for Ragotski,¹ and found his story not very unlike that of Ripperda,² except that he was not a good-for-nothing fellow. I found I was right about *moly*. Homer calls it *ἄνθος*. Lord H. was thinking, as he confessed, of “nepenthe.” This mistake was the more strange inasmuch as Lord H. told me he had copied the “Odyssey” twice with his own hand.

Lady Holland asked what “mandrake” was. Mr. Neumann said it was not the same as mandragora; M. Guizot, who had joined us, said it was the same, and added that Machiavelli’s comedy of *The Mandragola* was founded on the fable. Lady Holland said: “Ask Mr. Rogers; he can tell us.” Accordingly, I did ask him, but he did not know. We turned to Johnson’s Dictionary, and found Guizot was right. Shakespeare had settled it; now all of us ought to have known this. I mentioned this to a great friend of mine—

¹ Francis Leopold Ragotski was born in 1676, and educated at the Court of Vienna. Failing in later years to recover his property, which had been taken from him, he became a malcontent, and was imprisoned at Neustadt. He escaped, and rose to be leader of the Hungarian opposition, in which capacity he kept Hungary separate from Austria for ten years. He was proscribed in 1711, and spent the rest of his life in England and Turkey.

² John William Ripperda, an adventurer, was born at Groningen, and became Dutch Ambassador to Spain. Philip V. created him a Duke, and made him his Foreign Minister; but, having incurred the hatred of the Spanish nobles, he was imprisoned at Segovia in 1726. He escaped in 1728, and, after wandering over Europe, took service under the Emperor of Morocco and commanded his forces against Spain. He was defeated at Ceuta, and banished from Morocco. He died at Tetuan in 1737.

a lady, and found she knew it; and she told me, moreover, that the “mandrake” was the common plant called “lords and ladies.” 1840.

On April 19 I went to church with my children, and heard a sermon on the Resurrection of our Saviour. Walking away with my friend, Sir John Macdonald, Adjutant-General, he remarked that “the preacher had brought his batteries very well to bear on the point.”

I dined, April 29, at a Cabinet dinner at Lord Clarendon's. We had little official talk until we went upstairs, when Lord Melbourne desired me to inform our friends what the East India Company intended to do in regard to the opium monopoly. It was settled the answer should be: “Discussions were still going on between the home authorities, and that the Governor-General of India was considering the subject.” Lord Melbourne might add that if the opium monopoly were abandoned to-morrow, the poppy would still be cultivated, even in our own possessions; and if not there, certainly in Malwa, and as much as, if not more than now, might be produced. We had not much more talk.

May 1.—At House of Commons, where I presented a petition against using children for sweeping chimneys.

At our next Cabinet Baring gave us a very unsatisfactory account of the state of the finances, and concluded by stating that the deficiency of next year would amount to three millions. This

1840. he proposed to make good by a loan. Lord John stopped him, and said that a preliminary question ought to be raised—namely, whether this deficiency could not be supplied better by fresh taxes. Lord Melbourne rather inclined to this in preference to a loan; but nothing was settled in regard to this important matter.

I went to the Water-colour Exhibition, and bought Mr. Prout's picture of "A Street in Prague." I gave forty guineas for it—very cheap, and worth now (1866) at least three times as much.

On May 5 I met Lord William Russell coming out of Brooks's, and had some conversation with him. The next day I heard that he had been found dead in his house in Norfolk Street, with his throat cut and a napkin thrown over his face. An inquest sat on the body at six o'clock, and returned a verdict of wilful murder by person or persons unknown. Some persons had been charitable enough to hint suspicions of suicide, for which there was not the slightest ground. The day after, suspicion attached to Lord William's Swiss valet, a man of the name of Courvoisier. The sons of my medical attendant, Mr. Elsgood, who saw the body just after it was discovered, and who were examined at the inquest, told their father that they had no doubt of this fact.

At the Cabinet on May 9 we had a discussion on the opium question; and, to my surprise, both Labouchere and Macaulay, upon my saying that I

1840

thought the immediate abolition of the monopoly inexpedient, pronounced an opinion directly against monopoly ; and Lord Holland, who knew nothing about the matter, and Lord Lansdowne, who knew very little, advised that Lord Melbourne should say the Government were devising the best means of discouraging the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium. I begged that nothing of the kind might be said, and it was finally agreed that Lord Melbourne should say we were giving our best attention to the subject.

Lord Palmerston now stated that a proposal had been made by Mons. Thiers and the French Government, through Mons. Guizot, for permitting the removal of the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena. It was proposed that a French frigate, with an English commissioner on board, should proceed to St. Helena and effect the removal. H.M.'s pleasure had, we heard, been previously taken, and the Cabinet consented unanimously to the proposal. Most of us seemed to think that Thiers had hit upon a very politic expedient. But Lord Melbourne said he was not quite sure of that ; at any rate foreign States, and more especially Austria, would be highly incensed. One of us asked whether the consent of the Allies, who had agreed to sending Napoleon to St. Helena, was necessary before removing his remains. We did not sit long, as Lord John Russell was not present.

Lord Normanby told us that, from all he had

1840. heard, there could be no doubt that the murderer of Lord William Russell was the Swiss valet. Macaulay repeated some lines of a ballad, which he had heard in the street, about the murder; and some of us could not help laughing; others looked astonished at this strange want of decorum, and Baring, taking me to the window, whispered, "What an odd fellow!"

FROM DIARY.

May 13.—The China question came on to-day in the Lords. The Duke of Wellington made a most gallant and effective defence of Elliot's conduct at Canton, and broadly asserted that the war was not an opium war, and that he, as one who had been in the public service for fifty years, would spill the last drop of his blood rather than permit that a British functionary should be treated as Elliot had been—like the meanest criminal.

Poor Lord Stanhope eventually withdrew his motion.

The Opposition papers knew not how, at first, to notice the exposure of the conduct of their House of Commons heroes, but a day or two afterwards the *Times* sneered at the Duke for throwing his broad shield over the helpless Ministry and turning his back on his friends.

We had a Cabinet, and, amongst other things, had some conversation on Mr. Kelly's motion to abolish Capital Punishment, except for murder and High Treason, a disagreeable subject for Lord John,

who, however, treated it very calmly and said he should request Mr. Kelly to put off his motion for a short time. He looks very much worn and affected by the death of his uncle. 1840.

At the Cabinet on May 16 I asked Lord Palmerston whether it was true that he had written the letter quoted by M. de Rémusat, in the debate in the Chamber of Deputies, on the transfer of the remains of Napoleon to France. Palmerston was represented to have said that he trusted "if any animosity still existed between the two nations, it might be buried in the tomb which France would raise to the Emperor." Palmerston told me he had expressed that hope; "for," said he, "I recollected what Lord Holland had said on this removal, 'If it is to be done, let it be done handsomely.'"

Lord Palmerston told me that the Prince de Joinville was to go for the remains, and that the Chamber of Deputies had voted a million of francs for the expenses of the expedition, as also a tomb and funeral ceremony at the Invalides. All the votes were carried by acclamation.

June 1.—This day Prince Albert took the chair at the Anti-Slavery Meeting at Exeter Hall. I was asked to assist H.R.H., but on Lord Melbourne's advice and my own inclination, declined going. I heard afterwards that Peel was there and moved thanks to the Prince in a laboured and fulsome speech, and that O'Connell met with a very rude reception. The principal speakers were Conservative, and the whole meeting was evidently

1840. got up to impress the Prince with the unpopularity of our party. Russell remarked to me that the Prince would rather that Peel had not cut off £20,000 a year from his income than that he should subscribe £100 to this Society, and make his fine speech.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On Wednesday, June 3, the Derby was run for, and won by what was called a dark horse, named Little Wonder. The Queen was on the course, and the *Morning Post* said, "H.M. was rapturously received, because Lord Melbourne was not with her."

In the evening I had some friends to dine with me, and amongst them, Ardaseer, the Parsee shipbuilder from Bombay, who had come to England to instruct himself in our dockyards. I had asked him to dinner; but he told me he was forbidden to eat meat with us; he might take tea.

On Monday, June 8, I dined at the Palace, with a small party. I sat next to Baroness Lehzen, who gave me a most interesting account of Her Majesty's education, and her literary tastes. H.M. did not admire Dr. Johnson's writing till she read "Rasselas." She disliked Swift. She was not fond of novels and romances; excepting "Ivanhoe," she did not much like Sir Walter Scott. History she was very fond of; but not very ancient history, such as Rollin, for ex-

ample, "which," she said, "probably was not true." H.M. had read the Old Testament through three or four times; of modern poetry she had read very little, such as selections from Byron and Walter Scott. 1840.

The Baroness talked to me of the strong sense and judgment of the Queen, and of her conduct in the reign of the late King. Her manners in company were most simple and unobtrusive; and when it was represented to her, by Madame Lehzen herself, that she ought to act more like the heir-presumptive to the throne, "No," said she, "there is no saying what may happen; I may be what I am all my life. It is better to make a mistake on that side than on the other." H.M., Madame Lehzen said, was kindly treated by King William! but she knew she was not liked at his Court, and she kept as much out of the way as she could. Her conduct at her accession was admirable, marked by firmness and decorum.

I was riding in Hyde Park, near Cumberland Gate, a little before seven, on Wednesday, June 10, when I met the Queen and Prince Albert in their pony-phaeton. Just afterwards I met Charles Howard, Lord Melbourne's private secretary, who said to me, "I suppose you know what has happened?" I replied, "Not I, indeed." "The Queen has been shot at twice." I replied, "That cannot be; I have just seen her in the Park; and she is there now, driving." "Is she?" said

1840. Howard; "I wish you would call on Lord Melbourne, and tell him so." Accordingly, I went to South Street, and, calling on Lord Melbourne, told one of his servants; and he told me the same story. I asked him whether he was quite sure that it was the Queen, and not the Queen-Dowager? He said "He was quite certain it was the Queen." I was horror-struck, and much affected; so young—so innocent—so good—so confiding, in her present situation, her young husband by her side. I blamed myself for not having advanced to the carriage, and seen that she was safe; but I knew nothing of the attempt. Indeed, it never entered into my head that a villainy so monstrous was possible.

I went to a Cabinet dinner at Holland House; the only other Ministers were, besides our host, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Minto. I expected to hear of nothing but the assassination, but such are the conventional affectations of society that neither of them said a word on the subject, until I ventured to remark that it was very strange any one should think of such a thing; then one of my colleagues said, "Yes, very strange."

Lord John Russell came in, and told us he had seen the police carrying off the assassin. Then came Duncannon, who told us he had been to the Palace to inquire of the last account, and found that the assassin had been taken to the Queen Square station-house; had surrendered himself quietly, saying he was the man. He was

a lad of eighteen. Palmerston now came in; he had heard nothing of the matter. 1840.

Lord Melbourne and Normanby came in. They had both seen the Queen—not at all flurried or alarmed! H.M. had told them that, when she saw the assassin take a deliberate aim at her, with his second pistol, the sight was far from agreeable. Prince Albert rose, but sat down again. The carriage drove on with the Queen, who called immediately on the Duchess of Kent. Afterwards H.M. drove twice round the Park, a crowd of ladies and gentlemen following her, waving their hats and handkerchiefs. The culprit's name was Edward Oxford.

After hearing these particulars we considered what was to be done. Lords Lansdowne and Holland seemed to think that, unless there was reason to believe some conspiracy existed, the proceedings should be conducted in the ordinary way. I protested against this, and said that an attempt against the life of the Sovereign, conspiracy or not, should be dealt with in another manner, and that the examination should take place before the Privy Council. The Lord Chancellor said he thought so too, and it was finally arranged that the man should be examined by the magistrates at the Home Office in the first instance, and afterwards by the Privy Council.

On Thursday I attended a Council at the Home Office, where we decided only Cabinet Ministers should be present,

1840. Oxford himself was brought in. He was young, and under the middle size, neatly made, with a darkish olive complexion. He had black eyes and eyebrows, dark chestnut hair. He had not a bad expression, but with a curl on his lips, as if suppressing a smile or sneer. He was dressed as became his condition, which, we were told, was that of a barman at a pothouse. There was nothing displeasing in his look or manner, until he spoke, when his pert audacity and his insolent carelessness gave him the air of a ruffian.

The prisoner cross-examined the witnesses with the most disgusting flippancy. He did not deny firing at the carriage, but only tried to confuse the witnesses about distances and position, and how he held the pistols, and in which hand.

The only sign of feeling he gave was when his brother-in-law was examined. He then turned his back and hung down his head, declining also to cross-examine him; nor would he cross-examine the policeman who broke open his box. He seemed to me to wish to have it thought he had fired at the Prince and not at the Queen.

Lord Normanby shortly afterwards made out and signed the warrant to the keeper of Newgate, committing Oxford to prison for high treason; and at half-past five he was conveyed in a cabriolet to Newgate.

On June 12 I went to the Palace with the

Address to the Queen from the Lords and Commons. There was a great crowd both of Lords and Commons, and the rush into the Throne-room, through the doorway, was tremendous. I had much ado to prevent myself being pushed over the Duke of Wellington. The Queen appeared much affected; when she read her answer her voice faltered and her hand trembled. Prince Albert stood at her left hand, and he also seemed affected by the ceremony. 1840.

Whilst in the crowd I had a conversation with Sir James Graham and Lord Grey, both of whom deprecated the alteration in the penal code, which diminished the number of crimes punished capitally, and made no distinction between a murderer and any other felon capitally convicted.

Lord Stanley and I happening to be next to one another, he remarked to me that O'Connell was present; moreover, that he had a coat with the Repeal button upon it. I said that he always wore that half uniform now.

FROM DIARY.

June 13.—I dined at Lansdowne House; a large party to meet the Duke of Sussex and Duchess of Inverness. I sat between Sir Hussey Vivian and Lord Chancellor, the former not a wise, though good, man. He told me he had been to look at the mark in the wall on Constitution Hill, opposite to where the Queen was shot at, and was

1840. quite sure it was made by a bullet. Whilst he was looking at it he heard some one say, "General, you and I know that is a bullet-mark," and turning round, he saw an old soldier who had served under him in Spain.

June 17.—Dined at my sister's, Mrs. Alexander. Amongst others, met my old young friend, Miss Coutts (Burdett), who has not been spoilt by her vast wealth. I also had some conversation with Lockhart on the Scottish Church Non-intrusion Question.¹ He said Chalmers was as great a Jesuit as ever walked Spain, and that Cromwell was the only man who knew how to deal with the Scottish Presbyterians.

June 20.—I had a good deal of conversation with M. Guizot on French affairs. He told me that power in France was in the hands of middle classes, but that there was not the slightest chance of the Republican party ever having the ascendant.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On June 26 we were beaten on Lord Stanley's Registration Bill. R. Gordon, one of our place-men, was asleep in the Speaker's room. Two others were shut out. Three of our best men

¹ In 1834 the General Assembly of the Scottish Church resolved that "It is a fundamental law of the Church that no pastor shall be intruded on a congregation contrary to the will of the people." This resolution was, however, proved to be illegal, and, after a long and bitter struggle, it led to the disruption in 1843 when one-third of the clergy, supporters of the Veto Act, left the Church, and founded the Free Church of Scotland.

were taken ill the same morning. In short, our 1840.
luck was villainously bad. Even Russell was
discomfited. He whispered to me "that it was
almost impossible to go on with so small a
majority"; and he added "that we were eight
worse than we had been on the want-of-confidence
vote at the beginning of the session."

FROM DIARY.

June 30.—Our Canada Union Bill was read a
second time in the Lords, after most violent
speeches by the Duke of Wellington and Ellen-
borough, and a strong speech by Brougham.
Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne reproved them
in very able speeches, and certainly their conduct
was unjustifiable in every point of view, though
I have since heard that the Duke of Welling-
ton thought he was "keeping the peace" by
the line he took, for he told Lord Melbourne
so privately.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On July 4 I dined at Lord Albemarle's, and
sat next to old General Grosvenor, who reminded
me of our having hunted at Melton together, six
or seven years ago. I told him it was sixteen
years ago.

On July 6 Courvoisier, the murderer of Lord
William Russell, was hanged. An immense
crowd witnessed the execution, and yelled and
hooted when the criminal was brought on the

1840. scaffold. He made several confessions, and no one seemed to know to which of them to give credit.

I thought the defence set up for him by Mr. C. Phillips almost as atrocious as the crime itself. It consisted in charging the crime upon a servant-girl, who he knew was innocent, inasmuch as the man himself had confessed his guilt to his advocate. Most fortunately for the poor girl, the silver spoons, which the murderer had taken from his master, were discovered in possession of a person who saw an advertisement about them, and knew them by the Russell crest. This discovery saved the girl, but did not cover the outrageous conduct of the lawyer, and I never heard two opinions on that score.

Lord John Russell told me that Lord Stanley had given up his Canada Bill, with, as he said, a flourish of trumpets to cover his retreat. He took the same opportunity to give up our Registration Bills; also two or three other Bills of doubtful parentage, which enabled Sir Robert Peel to congratulate the House on getting rid of five Bills in one night.

At our Cabinet, on July 8, Lord Palmerston read to us a series of papers connected with the Egyptian question, showing what had passed since the collective note of July 1839. After reading these papers, Palmerston told us that he should propose a Convention between the four Powers and the Sultan, promising aid to the latter

against Mahomet Ali. On this we had a long discussion. Lord Holland and Lord Clarendon, and two or three others, hesitated about assenting to that which might involve us in a war. Palmerston very honestly told us he did contemplate the employment of force, if other means failed. 1840.

It was finally resolved that Palmerston should communicate our assent to Brunnow, and should propose, in concert with him, and Bulow, and Neumann, and the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, to frame a treaty in accordance with the proposals made by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. A most important decision, which I considered to be quite right in every point of view, and only regretted that we had not adopted it eight months before.

The trial of Oxford, the assassin, began on July 9. Our Attorney-General made a good opening speech; so did Mr. Sidney Taylor for the defence. This consisted in the denial of the pistols having been loaded with bullets; and, if that was proved, in an allegation of insanity. The verdict of the jury was in accordance with this view—that is, that the fact was proved, but that Oxford was mad.

This evening a disagreeable discussion ensued at the House of Commons, when Mr. Barrington moved an Instruction extending out-of-door relief on our Poor-Law Continuance Bill. Colonel Sibthorp treated us to some of his usual imperti-

1840. nence. Amongst other amenities he said he wished Ministers had to live in the workhouse, or go to the treadmill. I got home by one o'clock—rather early in those days.

The next day Tom Duncombe brought on his motion respecting the treatment of two men imprisoned for political offences. There was a great deal of angry discussion, and our friends, being relieved from fear of the Tories, assailed us in good set phrase. Disraeli and one or two others took the Tory-Radical line. Buller could not help alluding to the different treatment of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse, when they were imprisoned for political offences. I told Buller, afterwards, that I had never been convicted by a jury; but sent to prison by a vote of the House of Commons, without a hearing. He confessed he knew nothing of my case, and should not have alluded to it if I had not been a Baronet. I was rather angry with him, and told him he had only spoken, as usual, out of his abundant ignorance. However, we made it up before the evening was over.

At the Cabinet on July 11, many of us expressed regret at the acquittal of Oxford; but the Lord Chancellor said it had saved the Government from much embarrassment, as it would have been difficult to execute him. Lord Melbourne said that he considered Oxford half-witted at his examination before the Privy Council.

I had some talk, privately, with Lord John

Russell on the subject. He agreed with me that 1840.
Oxford had been acquitted because Courvoisier
had been condemned; and that, perhaps, the next
culprit would be convicted. For my own part,
I remarked that I should not be the least sur-
prised if some great catastrophe was caused by
this verdict.

This evening I dined at the London Tavern
with the East India Directors, at the entertain-
ment given by them to Lord Keane. There was
a great show of distinguished guests; besides Lord
Melbourne, Lansdowne, Normanby, Clarendon,
Abinger, Hill, and Seaton, Sir George Murray,
and a dozen other General Officers.

I sat next to Lord Abinger, who amused me
much by telling me anecdotes of some of his
celebrated contemporaries. He told me one of
Henry Dundas. Dundas was standing in the
Circle at Court. George III. eyed him very
earnestly, and continued looking at him for some
time. The next morning, his valet told him
a gentleman was waiting to see him. Dundas
answered that he could not see him just then,
he was in bed. "Sir," said the valet, "he says
he must see you—he comes from the King."
Dundas jumped out of bed, hurried on his clothes,
and ran downstairs. He saw a well-dressed man
in his parlour, and, with great civility, begged
to know what were His Majesty's commands?
"Sir, I am sent by the King to you." Dundas
bowed very low—the man bowed lower. "I am

1840. come," said he, "to tell you that His Majesty observed you at the Levee yesterday"—Dundas smiled, and bowed again—"and the King remarked what a handsome wig you had on. He has ordered me, who am His Majesty's wig-maker, to ask you who made it."

We had, of course, a good dinner, and much speechifying. Lord Keane did tolerably well, except that he told us his army had encountered greater difficulties than that of Alexander the Great, in the same countries. The Chairman gave the health of Sir Henry Pottinger; and a handsome, dark-looking man, who told us he had been thirty-seven years in India, returned thanks briefly, but with so much feeling that I saw Lord Melbourne was affected by it. I told Lord Melbourne that this was the Pottinger whom he had recommended to be made a Baronet for his conduct in India. I was introduced to Lushington, the late Governor of Madras. Amongst other pleasant things, he said to me, "Why do you not go out Governor-General to India? It would be very acceptable to the Court of Directors."—Q.E.D.

On July 12 I heard from the Duke of Bedford that the Duke of Sussex intended to oppose our Regency Bill, and that the King of Hanover would join him in this opposition. The Duke endeavoured to dissuade H.R.H. from taking this course, but hitherto without effect.

The Queen's Message respecting the Regency

was delivered to both Houses the next day; and, 1840.
in spite of threats, nothing was said by the Duke
of Sussex, or anybody else, against it.

On July 17 we had a long debate on Mr. Fielden's motion on political spies. Peel took care to remind us that, in former days, we condemned the use of spies. Russell answered him in an excellent speech, and showed the difference between employing such men as Castles, Oliver, and Edwards, and desiring public functionaries to report on the state of the country. Sir James Graham had got a volume of Hansard, and looked hard at me and smiled. I supposed he was reading my speech in 1820, against spies—the first I ever made in Parliament.

FROM DIARY.

July 19.—I had the Hollands, Lord and Lady Clanricarde, Lord and Lady Tankerville, Mr. and Mrs. Van De Weyer, Lord Keane, Sir H. Pottinger, Lord Andover, Edward Ellice, and several others to dinner.

Lady Clanricarde told me her opinions very frankly of society at St. Petersburg, not at all a favourable one. She praised the Emperor, both in respect to talents and disposition, but confessed that he was a fanatic in his wish to make proselytes to the Greek Church.

She told me that when Vicovitch shot himself he left a note on his table addressed to one of the Czar's principal advisers, with these

1840. words on it: "Come and contemplate your work."

Poor Lord Keane rattled away, and, as he speaks through his nose, disgusted Lady Holland exceedingly. Sir H. Pottinger pleased everybody, particularly Lord Holland, to whom he spoke in favour of Mahomet Ali.

I had some conversation with Baron de Neumann on our "Convention." He said he had never known a diplomatic secret so well kept. Indeed, even Ellice has only guessed at it, as a thing that may be done. Neumann, talking of Russia, said, "We are limitrophes with her, and there are bounds to our friendship. Your Afghan expedition was well done, and produced good effects." I have met Neumann often, but not conversed with him before. He is reckoned a clever man.

The party was agreeable, as Lady Holland told me at parting; taking care to add, however, that Lady Tankerville and Ellice were not on speaking terms.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On July 20 Lord John Russell read a third time, and passed his Ecclesiastical Titles and Revenues Bill, after one or two divisions in which he had large majorities. We gave him a cheer when the Speaker said "That this Bill do pass." Indeed, the patience and ability with which he has brought to an end, as far as our House was

concerned, the labour of four years, was beyond all praise.

On July 22 Lord Sandon made his threatened speech against Palmerston's commercial foreign policy, and a very poor speech it was. Palmerston answered with great spirit. Disraeli spoke, and was not so impudent as usual. He took care, however, to praise that Austrian alliance from which we ought never to have departed, and to which he was so much attached in the days of his youth.

On July 26 I dined with a large party at Monsieur Guizot's, to meet the Duke and Duchess of Nemours. The only foreigners present, except their Royal Highnesses, were Monsieur and Madame Van De Weyer. Most of the Ministers and their wives were there; also the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort. Earl Grey was present, very solemn and sulky; excepting shaking Melbourne by the hand, he did not notice any of the Ministers.

The Duke and Duchess of Nemours came late; she looked more beautiful than before her marriage, with a superb figure, and a face rather childish, with a luxuriant quantity of curling hair. A lady who knew her well told me that she was very dull, and the ladies of her suite had a hard time of it. The Duke was brought round the circle by Guizot. He addressed a few words to me about my functions, both official and parliamentary, and tried to be pleasing. The dinner was very

1840. sumptuous, and, I thought, very good. It was the composition of Monsieur Louis, Talleyrand's famous cook. Guizot did the honours very civilly and easily; I thought better than Soult and Sebastiani.

In the drawing-room Guizot came to me and began to talk of our Convention. He spoke English. I requested him to speak French, and allow me to speak in my own language. He then spoke very volubly and earnestly in French. He asked me what good we proposed to ourselves by our Convention,¹ and whether we should gain more than by the French alliance. "Why," continued he, "should France and England quarrel about a Pashalik more or less? Why run such awful risks of a general war for a semi-barbarous people?" He added, "The circumstances are very grave, I do assure you. I do not say there is any intention on the part of the French Cabinet to go to war; but if a French frigate and an English frigate were to meet on the coast of Syria, and a collision took place, who would be answerable for the consequences?" I listened very attentively, and only said, "I hoped no such thing would occur." "Very well," said he, "but why run the risk?" I asked him how he got rid of the Collective Note of July 1839? "C'était

¹ On July 15 the Convention was signed in London between the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia on the one part, and the Ottoman Porte on the other, for the pacification of the Levant. France stood aloof, but Mahomet Ali declined to accept the conditions applicable to himself, and war ensued.

une étourderie," replied he. "Besides," added he, 1840.
 "why should you make difficulties on that score more than we? we were parties to that Note as well as yourselves." I could not help smiling at this, as if want of faith on the part of France could justify want of faith on the part of England; but I only repeated my hope that the two nations might continue on good terms, and I took my leave. I may as well record that Guizot made no complaint of the secret having been kept from him, although that has been since made a grievance, and complained of, and miscalled treachery and deceit.

I was at the House of Commons on July 28, when the vote of £150,000 for the China expedition was brought up, and Gladstone made his promised speech on Chinese affairs. It was, as I thought, fanatical, but not so much so as his former exhibitions. He defended the Chinese, and said that their conduct was not to be judged by laws of European nations. Peel and Graham walked away to the House of Lords, and left Gladstone with no one but Lord Sandon on the front benches to help him. I made as our friends, and particularly Palmerston, told me, a good smart speech. I treated Graham, personally, with respect; but ridiculed his law of nations, taking care, of course, to quote the Duke of Wellington's opinion of the conduct of the Chinese to Elliot. Palmerston spoke, as usual, well; but I thought him too jocose for the occasion. He gave

1840. us some lines from the *Anti-Jacobin*: "The Consul quoted Wickefort, and Puffendorf, and Grotius."¹

FROM DIARY.

August 4.—Travelling from Erle Stoke, where I have been staying a few days, I met that very well-known personage, Lord George Bentinck. He was a most agreeable companion, and told me several things about his racing establishment which astonished me.

His stables and stakes in one year cost him £9,000, his post-horses for running races £700 in one year; and he told me that, in order to bring Crucifix up well to run for the Oaks, he had made a course on purpose for her training, which had cost him full £700; but he won £10,000 by the Oaks. I told him he deserved success.

He gave me an amusing account of the late races at Goodwood, and said that the crowd cheered when the Duke of Orleans's horse, Beggarman, won the cup; whereas at Paris, English ladies were almost hustled in the street.

August 5.—I dined at the Palace. The party was small; Lord Melbourne was not there. H.M. told me, laughing, that she had waited for him

¹ THE ELEGY, OR DIRGE

The Consul quoted Wicquefort,
And Puffendorf, and Grotius;
And proved from Vattel,
Exceedingly well,
Such a deed would be quite atrocious.

some time; but he had gone to dine with the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort. I had a good deal of talk with the Queen and Prince Albert on indifferent matters. H.M. asked me the particulars of the loss of the two ships wrecked in the mouth of Bombay Harbour. 1840.

I sat by Madame Lehzen at dinner. She praised the conduct of King William IV. to the Princess Victoria, particularly in regard to not making any efforts to force her to marry either of her cousins. He one day said to the Princess, "My dear child, marriage is a lottery." A common saying, to be sure, but not to be expected from a King to his niece and heir.

I went from the Palace to a party at Lady Palmerston's, and had a long conversation with Baron Bulow and my friend Brunnow. Brunnow also introduced me to a very pretty person, Mlle —, a very great favourite of the Empress, "and," said B., "what is more, of the Emperor. You see how poor Bulow is toadying her." The lady was very agreeable; and, amongst other things, said, "You see what favourites the English are; we have parted with our most amiable men for your sake." Before we parted Brunnow talked to me a good deal, and, as usual, about his own sincerity and straightforwardness.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On this evening, Thursday, August 6, I heard that Prince Louis Napoleon had landed in France,

1840. with some fifty or sixty people, determined to upset the Government. The story, though scarcely credible, was true! The man supped at Lady Blessington's on Tuesday, and was seen riding in Hyde Park on Wednesday morning. The same evening he embarked on board the *Edinburgh* steamer, with his followers, fifty-six in number, eight horses and two carriages, two or three barrels full of double Napoleons, and £200,000 worth of bank-notes about his person. He landed at Wimereux, about a mile from Boulogne, at two o'clock. At the time this seemed to me a mad enterprise; but I have since learnt, on authority which appears incontestable, that it was very near being successful. In fact, if the plot had not been betrayed, and one of the regiments in garrison at Boulogne changed for another, the whole of the troops would have revolted, and joined the Prince.

On August 8 I dined at the Ministerial Fish-dinner at Blackwall. Russell told me, at table, that he had called on the Duke of Wellington, and asked him whether he thought we had soldiers enough to repulse a sudden invasion of the French. The Duke answered, "Yes, quite enough! put them in garrison. The French will be very shy of attacking British soldiers in garrison; but the great thing is, you must have pretty nearly as large, or more force than theirs, otherwise they will be forced by national vanity to try to fight you."

I saw, by despatches from Lord Granville, 1840.
that King Louis Philippe represented the conduct of the French Government as inevitable and unalterable; and that the same policy would be pursued, whoever was at the head of it. He added that, if we sent a fleet to the coast of Syria, the French would march to the Rhine.

We had the usual waggery after dinner. Macaulay was told that the last elected Cabinet Minister ought to take the chair. He did so, and did his duty well; but, as I was taking him home, he confessed to me that he thought our humour not quite becoming Cabinet Ministers. He mentioned that, when he was last at a fish-dinner, it was in the time of Lord Grey, who presided, and the Cabinet Ministers sat at the upper end of the table; little or nothing was said, either at dinner, or afterwards. "Now," added he, "our Saturnalia were too much like a Northern Circuit dinner." He remarked that neither Lord Lansdowne, nor the Lord Chancellor, nor Lord Clarendon, was of the party; and he concluded by saying that he probably should not attend another fish-dinner.

I thought our nonsense rather more amusing than usual; and was happy, at any rate, that we had come to the end of a very tiresome, but, on the whole, a successful session.

We had a Cabinet the next day, and Lord Palmerston told us that he should propose to the

1840. Plenipotentiaries, signing the Convention, to give an assurance to the French Cabinet that we had no hostile intentions in regard to France. To this we all agreed, and very willingly, inasmuch as we had observed that the *furia Francese* was fast subsiding, and that the tone of the Paris press was become more moderate.

We were now told by Lord Minto, our First Lord of the Admiralty, that the French had eighteen sail-of-the-line in the Mediterranean, and that we could bring together sixteen. Palmerston mentioned that an Austrian Archduke was to command one of the two Austrian frigates destined to co-operate with us; and Palmerston also informed us that Brunnow had told him the Emperor of Russia would not only send a squadron from the Black Sea to help us, but had offered to come in person, commanding his Baltic fleet, to defend the shores of England. At this we all laughed, and Palmerston added that he had only given civil thanks for this magnificent offer.

I went to a Council at the Palace on August 10, when Lord Lovelace was sworn in Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey. I had never before seen him, although he was the husband of Ada Byron.

The following day the Queen prorogued Parliament. The King and Queen of the Belgians were present, and sat in arm-chairs above the Archbishop of Canterbury. Prince Albert was in an arm-chair to the left of Her Majesty, below the throne.

FROM DIARY.

1840.

August 16.—H. Stephenson called. He had just come from Lord Durham's funeral, and told me, as a great secret, that he was sure the poor man had died of a broken heart; his disappointment in Canada had killed him.

I knew him well—too well, in some respects, to give an impartial and full account of his character. But I will hazard a few remarks, as near the truth as can be told, without offence or flattery: Lord Durham was, in the main, a kind and friendly man. Whatever defects he had were on the surface, and he took no pains to conceal them. He had great advantages from his position, from his fortune, and from his personal appearance. He had cultivated his understanding with more assiduity than is usually bestowed upon intellectual qualities by young men of his position. He was a good and fluent speaker both in Parliament and elsewhere. He had an abundance of political courage, sometimes, perhaps, a little approaching to rashness; but, in his intercourse with his friends, he was by no means overbearing, nor, excepting in public controversy, arrogant or overbearing. In fact, he did not attach so much value to his character, or opinions, as to give himself a sufficient amount of self-confidence in matters of importance.

With all his manifest defects, he was much beloved in his own country. Of this his funeral gave manifest proof. It was attended by twenty

1840] thousand persons, and by a hundred and fifty carriages of his neighbours, of all parties.

He has left Lady Durham sole mistress of all his property. H. Stephenson made the will, and remonstrated against that disposition. Lord Durham agreed to think it over, and two days after said that he remained of the same mind.

August 17.—I went down to Erle Stoke, and had the happiness of finding my children quite recovered from their recent illness.

September 5.—Dr. Bowring arrived. I have seen but little of him of late years. He walked about with us at our usual rate, and talked incessantly on all subjects, with a volubility almost painful. However, he told some amusing anecdotes, particularly with reference to his late tour in Egypt and Syria.

Amongst others he mentioned that Lady Hester Stanhope pretended to be a magician, and said to some French gentleman, "What, you don't believe in magic? Well, I will make my pipe-sticks walk upright into the room." "I should be very glad to see that," said the Frenchman. "You would be very glad, would you? Then, I will do it!"

Lady Hester said she had divided her creditors into two classes: first, those who had asked to be paid, and whom she never would pay; second, those who had not asked, and some of these she would pay. She died in great poverty.

As to his opinions on religious matters, he mentioned some singular stories of Colonel

Perronet Thompson, who, it seems, is a sort of enthusiast in everything he undertakes. He once commanded a force against the Wahabees, and, seeing them drawn up in a false position, cried out, "Jomini, page 230, section 4, I have them, by God!" and immediately gave orders to his troops to fall on them. 1840.

October 1.—I went to London to attend a Cabinet on the tiresome affairs of Mahomet Ali. It seemed that Russell had been worked upon by his brother, the Duke, and also by Lord Spencer. Russell thought that we ought to make a serious effort to conciliate France, and to listen to the proposals of Mahomet Ali; although he, Mahomet Ali, had formally rejected the two offers of acting with us in conformity with the Treaty of July last.

October 3.—I returned to Erle Stoke, and had a most agreeable return journey, for our Solicitor-General, Wilde, was in the train with us.

I took occasion to ask him what he thought of Charles Phillips's defence of Courvoisier. He said he thought it infamous; and that, as for himself, he would not undertake the defence of a murderer who confessed his guilt to him previously to trial. On this resolution he had acted. A gentleman was accused, not of murder, but of what some people might think worse. The gentleman confessed to Wilde that the charge was true, but that the character of the principal witness might easily be destroyed, and his evidence considered worthless.

1840. This, however, could be done only by ruining the character of the witness. "And," said Wilde, "I could not do that, for I knew the witness spoke truth; therefore I threw up my brief. It was taken by another lawyer—the gentleman was acquitted."

Wilde told me that, in his early days, he was much engaged in bankruptcy cases, and he could safely say that he hardly knew a single instance in which the party, however high and respectable, did not perjure himself; and, as to speaking to character, any scoundrel could get the first men in the country to speak to his character. He gave the case of O'Brien, who owed his acquittal entirely to the character given of him by Lord Holland and one or two others, who swore that they believed him incapable of doing that with which he was charged.

Mr. M. D. Hill told us of this Mr. O'Brien that, having received some valuable services from Basil Montagu, O'Brien said: "I can never be sufficiently grateful to you; but, as a token of my esteem, I will give you the bullet that killed your mother, and which I have for many years considered the greatest curiosity in my possession." Basil Montagu was said to be the son of Lord Sandwich and Miss Ray. Wilde also mentioned that Lord Sandwich offered Hackman to try and save his life; but the assassin refused, saying he did not wish to live.

October 8.—Captain Abbott, our Envoy at

Khiva, dined with me. His singular adventures accord well with his manners and appearance. He came down to dinner in full uniform of a sort of Turkish or Russian pattern, and with large mustachios, and spurs on his boots. His manners were most formal and rather submissively ceremonious. He never spoke except to answer a question, but all he said was much to the purpose, and there was a determined gravity about him very useful, I should think, in his intercourse with such men as the Khan Huzrat of Khiva. He gave me some dreadful accounts of the state of society and manners of the Afghans of Herat. 1840.

He said the Nizam Futteh Khan, brother of Dost Mahomet, was put to death in this way. He was brought into an apartment in which were some of the relatives of those whom he had destroyed or injured. When there, one of them walked up to him, and, saying, "This is for what you did to my father," cut off one of his hands. Another came up to him saying, "This is for what you did to my brother," and cut off his remaining hand. A third exclaimed, "And this for what you did to my friend," and tore out one of his eyes. All which he bore without a murmur, until a woman came to him, and saying, "And this is for what you did to me," she then cut off his beard. He burst into tears. Some bystanders then rushed in upon him and cut him to pieces.

October 13.—Captain Abbott left me, and I

1840. found a long letter from him in which he confessed that, when leaving Khiva for Orenburgh, he had interpolated the passport given to him by Major Todd, and instructed himself to proceed to the Russian headquarters. The Russian General Peroffsky, at Orenburgh, discovered the forgery and charged Abbott with it. The Captain confessed it at once, but he did not say a word of the transaction either to Lord Palmerston or myself; and his whole letter to me, when obliged to speak of it, savoured much either of cunning or craziness. I had previously promised Abbott to get him employed at Herat; but this discovery, of course, made any such appointment impossible.

October 24.—Mr. Peacock, of the India House, came on a visit to me. He brought the news of the resignation of Thiers and his Ministry. The star of Palmerston is still in the ascendant.

We were all exceedingly diverted by the conversation of Mr. Peacock. His memory is prodigious, his literary attainments of a superior order. He has a fund of entertaining anecdotes, none of them tinged with bitterness or disagreeable personality. He has a simple, unaffected manner, and laughs heartily at his own jokes. His occupation at the India House has brought him into close contact with James Mill, and, through Mill, with Jeremy Bentham, of whom he told us some amusing anecdotes. He has the reputation of being a good Greek and Latin scholar; but he

makes no display of these attainments. He has published tales, two of which are called "Head-long Hall," and "Crochet Castle," not exactly novels, but clever stories, put together in a way enabling him to state his opinions. He was enthusiastically attached to steam-navigation, and more particularly to a vessel of which he superintended the construction, called the *Proserpine*, an iron boat, lately sent to India. 1840.

FROM BOOK, "RECOLLECTIONS."

On Sunday, November 22, arrived the news that the Queen was safely delivered of a Princess, and was doing well. I went to London, and, inquiring at the Palace, found Her Majesty and the infant were quite well.

On November 26 came the news of the taking of Acre by our squadron and a small Turkish and Austrian auxiliary force. The blowing-up of a large powder-magazine hastened the surrender; but the terrible fire of the squadron and the steamers exceeded everything of the kind ever seen; and even our opponents now confessed that the British fleet was never in such high order.

I called on Palmerston and congratulated him. He was in high spirits, but complained of the treatment he had received, particularly from Clarendon, to whom he attributed the disclosures that had been made of what had passed in Cabinet. Nevertheless, Clarendon congratulated him on his Syrian successes through Russell, who, more

1840. sincere, said nothing when he conveyed C.'s message.

I told Palmerston that, if such cabals were not put an end to, the Government would break up; and I added that I, for one, would not belong to a Cabinet where such double-dealing was tolerated. Palmerston attributed much of our difficulties to Edward Ellice, and a little of them to our Stanley. It seemed, also, that several of our old Whig friends entertained views of this kind; and, forgetting the difference of times and circumstances, thought that, because we had stood by revolutionary France against our German allies in 1792, we ought not to desert her now.

Palmerston told me that the plan of making a proposal to France, through Austria, so much discussed in Downing Street, had come to nothing. Palmerston also mentioned that Admiral Stopford would not have attacked Acre if he had not received a despatch by the *Vesuvius* steamer on the night before the action. Palmerston looked upon Napier as the real hero of the Syrian campaign. He commanded the Turkish troops at Beyrout, riding on a jackass; and, when some of them ran away, got off and pelted them with stones.

On December 12 I called on Lady Holland, and sat some time with her—my first visit since her husband's death. It was a very painful visit. She talked very freely of her past life and present distress. Amongst other causes of regret, she

said she had passed through life without making a single female friend. She said that Mr. Allen was very kind, and read to her in the evening; but she passed many, many dreary hours, and, when she tried to divert her attention to indifferent topics, almost always reverted to her own calamity. She was suffering much pain; and an old woman came in, and, kneeling down, began to rub her knees. I withdrew, promising to dine with her the next day. 1840.

I did dine with her on that day. Miss Fox, Lady Mary Fox, Charles Greville, Charles Howard, and Mr. Allen, were of the party, and the conversation was lively enough; but every now and then the poor woman burst into tears, and whispered something sad to Greville or to me. When in the drawing-room, I thought she assumed more than was necessary of her old air and manner with Mr. Allen. He bore them admirably.

On December 16 I had two letters that occasioned me much gratification. One was from Captain Mitchell, who was a Lieutenant in the *Salsette* when I sailed in that frigate in 1810. The other was from Captain Stapleton, senior Captain in the Cornish Miners, when I belonged to that corps in 1811. I had seen neither of them since those years; one of them asked me for an Addiscombe appointment; the other for a cadetship for his nephew. I gave each of them what he wanted. I do not know that I ever bestowed my patronage in a way so agreeable to my own feelings.

1840. They were both of them excellent creatures, and Captain Stapleton was a very accomplished man. He volunteered into the 51st Regiment, and was at Waterloo. I have at this moment before me a portrait by Opie, which was bequeathed to me by his will. When I last heard from him, he had retired to a cottage near Sidmouth, and had exchanged, he told me, his flute for a violoncello, which served, as he said, to beguile him of many a solitary hour.

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